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THE

PORTUGUESE IN INDIA

BEING A

HISTORY OF THE RISE AND DECLINE

OF THEIR

EASTERN EMPIRE.

BY

FREDERICK CHARLES DANVERS.

Of Her Majesty's Indian (Home) Civil Service.

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HISTORY

OF THE

PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

Formation of Three Governments in the East—Arrival of Dom Antonio de Noronha as Viceroy—Surrender of Chale to the Zamorin—Daman Threatened by the Mughal—Its Relief, and Treaty with the Mughal—Defence of Barcelor—Attack on Malacca by the King of Achin—Relief of Ternate—Deposition of Dom Antonio de Noronha, and appointment of Antonio Moniz Barreto as Governor—Renewed Attack on Malacca by Achin and Japarra—Trial and Execution of Dom Jorge de Castro—Critical position of the Portuguese in the Moluccas—Loss of Ternate—Appointment of Francisco Barreto as Governor of Monomotapa—His Death—Termination of the Portuguese Government of Monomotapa—Ruy Lourenço de Tavora appointed Viceroy of India—His Death on the voyage thither—Dom Diogo de Menezes succeeds him—Treachery of the Thanadar of Dabhol—Arrival of Dom Luiz de Ataide as Governor—Death of King Dom Sebastião—Dom Henrique succeeds him as King of Portugal—Expedition against Dabhol—Fernão Telles de Menezes appointed Viceroy—Death of the Adil Khan—Sack of Muscat—Arrival of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas as Viceroy—Native Historian on the Portuguese in India.

A CHANGE in the government of India gave King Dom Sebastião an opportunity of effecting some alterations in the administration, with a view to its more effective management. The great extent of territory which now constituted that government, reaching as it did from the coast of Africa to China, seemed too extensive to be properly controlled from one centre, and he, therefore, determined to form it into three separate governments.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1571.

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The one part, including all the territories between Cape Guardafui and the island of Ceylon, constituted the government of India; those between Cape Correntes and Guardafui, that of Monomotapa; and the territories between Pegu and China formed the government of Malacca. The first of these was given to Dom Antonio de Noronha with the title of Viceroy; the second to Francisco Barreto, and the third to Antonio Moniz Barreto, both of whom were styled Governors.

Dom Antonio de Noronha set out from Lisbon with five ships, and was shortly afterwards followed by two other vessels. He arrived at Goa on the 6th September, 1571, with all his fleet, but the men had suffered so severely at sea from sickness, that out of the 4,000 that had set out with him 2,000 had died during the voyage. He arrived in India before the Adil Khan had raised the siege of Goa, and thereby he obtained a share in the reputation of obliging him to retire. The Adil Khan having left commissioners to arrange a peace with the new Viceroy, the treaty was proclaimed with great rejoicing on the 13th December, 1571.

Peace having been thus concluded, the next care of the new Viceroy was to send relief to Chale, which he dispatched thither in two galleys, one galleon, and four ships, under the command of Dom Diogo de Menezes; and subsequently two more galleys and three other vessels followed. These reliefs reached Chale too late, as the fort had already been surrendered to the Zamorin on certain conditions. The surrender was made, in opposition to the opinion of the majority of his officers, by Dom Jorge de Castro, who gave way to the entreaties and tears of his wife and the other ladies there.

Dom Diogo de Menezes took on board his vessels all the people of Chale who were subjects of the King of Thana, and carried them to Cochin. He then divided his fleet with Mathias de Albuquerque, and cleared the sea of pirates. He next captured, and demolished, a

CHAP. I. A.D. 1571.

fortress (built by a Naique, subject to the Adil Khan) at the mouth of the River Sanguicer, in which action there fell Antonio Fernandes Chale, a Malabarese, who for his bravery had often occupied important commands under Portuguese captains. Being a Knight of the Order of Christ, his body was carried to Goa, where it was interred with great ceremony and state.

The Viceroy, being a poor man, had accepted his appointment in the hope of being able thereby to realise a fortune, and to this end he endeavoured to deprive Antonio Moniz Barreto of a part of what had been allotted to him for the government of Malacca. Barreto remonstrated, but as the Viceroy refused to yield, he declined to proceed to his destination unless he could do so with a sufficient force to enable him to maintain his position there. Thus difficulties arose which led to more serious consequences later on.

After fitting out several squadrons as usual, and receiving four ships from Lisbon, Dom Antonio de Noronha made preparations for sending relief to Daman, which was then being threatened by the Mughal, because that place and Bassein had formerly belonged to the kingdom of Cambay, of which the Mughal had now obtained possession. Sultan Mahmud, heir to the late King of Cambay, had been placed under the care of three great men, Alu Khan, Itimiti Khan, and Madremaluco, who being all jealous of one another, each strove to make himself master of the young King, but the latter, finding that the sole aim of these men was to obtain power, fled from Madremaluco to Itimiti Khan, who fearing that the young King might escape, resolved to betray him. Gelalde Mamet Hechar Taxa, King of the Mughals, was now at the zenith of his power, and to him Itimiti Khan offered to deliver up the King of Cambay as a means of enabling him with a small army to possess himself of the kingdom. As a reward for his treachery, Itimiti Khan desired that he should be made Viceroy. The Great Mughal readily

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enough closed with these proposals, and accordingly marched at the head of a small army to Ahmedabad, where the traitor delivered the Prince to him. Thus was the Mughal, without drawing a sword, placed in possession of the kingdom of Cambay.

Not satisfied with what he had thus obtained, the Mughal resolved next to recover the territories and towns of Daman and Bassein from the Portuguese. On his designs becoming known, Dom Luiz de Almeida, commander of the former place, sent advices to the Viceroy, who immediately dispatched some relief and made preparations to follow in person. Having set out from Goa at the end of December, 1571, with nine galleys, five galleons, eight galliots, and ninety other vessels of various sizes, the Viceroy arrived in due time in the river of Daman, and struck such terror into the hearts of the enemies, who were encamped two leagues off, that the Mughal at once sent an ambassador with proposals of peace. The Viceroy received the ambassador on board his galley in great state, and with much firing of cannon. Having heard his proposals, he sent him back to the Mughal with Antonio Cabral, who concluded a treaty to the satisfaction of both parties. The Viceroy returned to Goa, and the Mughal having settled himself in the possession of the kingdom of Cambay, cut off the head of that traitor Itimiti Khan, a just reward of his villainy.

The inhabitants of Barcelor, being incensed with the Portuguese for having erected a fortress in the neighbourhood, besieged the same with an army of 6,000 men. Ruy Gonçalves da Camara, the commander there, having sent for assistance to the Viceroy, made preparations for a proper defence. Five ships came immediately to his relief, followed by twelve more under the command of Dom Jorge de Menezes, who *en route* destroyed the town of the Naique of Sanguiçer, with great slaughter of the enemy, but with a loss of only two Portuguese, and in the bay of Barcelor he captured a Mecca ship. Dom Jorge,

on his arrival at Barcelor, found all was safe, thanks to the timely arrival of the first five ships.

Dom Diogo de Menezes, sailing to the northward with one galley and seven other vessels, captured, near the islands of Angerula, eight leagues from Chaul, two large vessels belonging to the Adil Khan; but a storm arose, which drove them all ashore, and, being recaptured by Malabarese, they were returned to their rightful owner. The Adil Khan, because the ships were taken after the conclusion of the late peace (though the fault was really on the side of the Moors for replying with their cannon to the demand for the production of Portuguese passes), caused Dom Henrique de Menezes and all the Portuguese then at his Court to be incarcerated in the castle of Belgaum, and it was some time before the anger of that Prince was sufficiently appeased to permit the release of his captives.

It was the middle of October when the King of Achin, pursuant to the conditions and terms of the recent alliance, appeared before Malacca with a fleet of nearly 100 sail and 7,000 men, together with a vast quantity of ammunition. He landed the same night of his arrival, and set fire to the town of Iller, which would most probably have been totally destroyed but for the occurrence of a sudden and violent downpour of rain.

The enemy next attempted to burn the Portuguese ships, but, failing in this and other plans, resolved to carry the city by a regular siege. Malacca was then in a miserable condition, with a small garrison, which had suffered much from sickness and famine.

Malacca had, to a certain extent, no hopes of a successful defence. The enemy were incessantly battering its walls, and had cut off all communication from without, so that no provisions could be introduced, and the garrison and inhabitants were soon reduced to great misery and want.

In its extremity, however, Tristão Vaz de Veiga, who

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was on his way to Sunda with a ship to load rice, by chance put into that port. The besieged, having earnestly entreated him to assist them, he could not but acquiesce, though it seemed a great rashness to attack a fleet of a hundred sail with ten ships, of which number nine were almost rotten, and had no rigging. These ships were manned by 300 men, who were as naked as they were hungry. The captain, who may have reposed much confidence in his own valour, acknowledged that there should be no trust (in such cases) excepting in the Almighty, so caused all his men to make their confessions, and prepare themselves for death.

About the end of November he sailed, and discovered the enemy's fleet in the River Formosa. Having given the command of his own ship to Manoel Ferreira, de Veiga went in a galliot against the admiral's ship, which he boarded, slaughtering many of her crew, and hauling down her flag.

Meanwhile, Fernão Peres, with only thirteen men in a small vessel, captured one of the enemy's galleys. Fernão de Lemos sank another of their ships; and Francisco de Lima, having also captured one, burnt it, and then returned to the attack. Manoel Ferreira, who was in de Veiga's ship, sank three other vessels, and captured several with great slaughter. The remainder of the enemy's fleet then fled, after losing 700 men, the loss on the other side being only five. The Portuguese ships remained in the neighbourhood for three days to see if the enemy would renew the fight, but at the end of that time, their ships not having again appeared, the former returned to Malacca.

Whilst Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque, the Portuguese admiral at the Moluccas, was conveying relief to Ternate from Amboina, the former fort was being besieged by the fleet of the King of Ternate, which he had sent either to prevent Marramaque from relieving the Portuguese garrison or in order to possess himself of those islands.

Being, however, too late to prevent his relieving the place, the Ternatense fleet proceeded to besiege Ulate, in the Iliacers Island. The people of that place had been hemmed in for forty days when Dom Duarte de Menezes, with Sancho de Vasconcellos, came to their relief, whereupon the people of Ulate, encouraged by this succour, fell on the besiegers, and put them to flight. Sancho de Vasconcellos then returned to Amboina, and, finding that Dom Duarte had died, he succeeded him in the command of that place.

The Portuguese having converted the King of Atua to Christianity, his people rose against him, and having called in the aid of the commander of the Ternatenses, he was taken and slain. Troubles now fell fast upon the Portuguese in these parts, so that some of them seriously contemplated the abandonment of the Moluccas altogether, and this would no doubt have been carried out had not Sancho de Vasconcellos refused to leave the Christians on those islands to their fate, and he positively declared that if all the rest of the Portuguese retired he would remain and raise a native force for their defence. This resolute action had the desired effect, and nothing more was then said about retiring from those parts, but it was determined to abandon their present position, and to erect a fort at Rosanive, whose inhabitants were on friendly terms with the Portuguese. The fort was erected, with the assistance of the natives, and reinforcements were shortly afterwards received from Goa. The people of Atua, however, made a sudden attack on the Portuguese, and, for the time, defeated them, whereupon Sancho de Vasconcellos, having collected together a small force, fell upon Atua, and killed every human being and beast he found there, and he then went to the island Rosater, twelve leagues distant, and did the same thing.

Four vessels from Lisbon now arrived at Goa, under the command of Dom Francisco de Sousa, who was entrusted with letters from the King to the Archbishop,

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directing that Dom Antonio de Noronha should be deposed, and that Antonio Moniz Barreto should succeed him as Governor.

Dom Antonio de Noronha returned to Lisbon, where he died shortly afterwards of grief. It was not long before the King Dom Sebastião discovered the mistake he had made and the injustice done to Dom Antonio, but it was then too late to make reparation, for he had already passed beyond the reach of human punishment or honour.

Antonio Moniz Barreto was in command of Malacca when he was appointed to be Governor of India. The successor nominated for the former post was Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque, but, as he was now dead, the next nomination for Malacca was Dom Leonis Pereira. Barretto proceeded to Goa as soon as he became aware of his promotion, and assumed the reins of government on the 9th September, 1573. Immediately afterwards news arrived that Malacca was again in danger, the King of Achin, assisted by the Queen of Japarra, having once more appeared before it. The Governor thereupon ordered Dom Leonis Pereira to proceed thither immediately and aid in the defence of the place, but he declined to do so unless he could take a sufficient force with him for the purpose. This, however, apparently without any sufficient reason, Barreto refused to give him, although there was, at the time, no other pressing engagement for the Portuguese trocps throughout India. Dom Leonis, therefore, instead of going to Malacca, returned to Lisbon.

About the end of the year 1573 six ships arrived from Portugal. These vessels conveyed orders for the trial of Dom Jorge de Castro for delivering the fortress of Chale to the Zamorim. He was tried and found guilty, and beheaded in the market-place of Goa; whilst others, who were as guilty as he, not only escaped punishment, but were rewarded; and it is very remarkable that a year later a commission was sent from Portugal appointing Dom Jorge de Castro to another post.

Tristão Vaz de Veiga had arrived at Malacca from Sunda, and by common consent he was selected to succeed the late Dom Francisco Henriques, who had recently died, as commander of that fort. The place was now being attacked by the Queen of Japarra's forces, and the first act of Tristão Vaz was to send to the Governor for reinforcements. Antonio Moniz Barreto appears not to have complied directly with this request, but he sent to all the neighbouring places, promising to pay liberally for any assistance they might render. By this means an auxiliary force was raised sufficient to enable Malacca to make good its defence.

Meanwhile Moniz Barreto demanded of the Goa municipality the loan of 20,000 pardaos, in order to fit out a fleet, and finding the people rather backward in producing the money, he offered his son Duarte Moniz, a boy of eight years of age, as security. The municipality then found the money and took charge of the security.

Whilst this fleet was being fitted out, the Javanese general Quiadaman commenced hostilities against the Portuguese, and attacked Iller, whereupon Dom Antonio de Castro went to its rescue with only ten men, and was killed.

Quiadaman, with 15,000 chosen natives, having spread his force all round the town, Tristão Vaz de Veiga dispatched João Pereira and Martim Pereira with 150 men to dislodge the enemy from a certain position. They killed seventy Javanese, levelled their works, and captured seven pieces of cannon. Pereira next burnt thirty of the enemy's galleons, and some engines of war they had erected to attack one of the bastions. Fernando Perez de Andrade and Bernardim da Silva also burnt their palisades. In all these actions the Portuguese losses amounted to from fifteen to twenty men killed. The river being now cleared, Pereira with his ships attacked the besiegers, and at Johore he captured the provisions which were on their way to the enemy, who thereupon embarked and

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attempted to escape during the night; Pereira, however, pursued them, and taking them in the rear, defeated them with great slaughter. It is stated that nearly half of those 15,000 men who constituted the Javanese army perished by fire, sword, or sickness during the siege, which lasted altogether for three months.

The King of Achin and the Queen of Japarra took it by turns to attack the fort of Malacca, for when the one fleet retired to refit, the other took its place. The Achinese fleet, consisting of forty galleys, with other smaller ships and galliots to the number of 100, now arrived before Malacca, and brought with it a great quantity of artillery. Tristão Vaz ordered João Pereira in a galley, Bernardim da Silva in a caravel, and Fernando Pallares in a ship, each with forty men, to convoy and bring in the ships which were expected then to arrive with provisions, of which the city was in great need. No sooner did they attempt to leave the port than the enemy fell upon them and quickly annihilated their vessels. Seventy-five men were either killed or drowned, including the three captains, forty were taken prisoners, and but five men escaped by swimming. Only 150 men now remained for the defence of Malacca, and of this number two-thirds were sick and aged. Want of ammunition and of men prevented the captain from replying to the enemy's fire, and the besiegers, not knowing the reason of this inactivity on the part of the garrison, imagined that they had some deep-laid strategem in hand. In an unaccountable panic the Achinese general raised the siege when he might have easily carried the town, and he retired with the whole of his forces after having done very little damage to the place. This siege commenced in the beginning of January, 1575, and lasted a little less than a month. Humanly speaking, the successful defence of the city was entirely due to the courage and resources of Tristão Vaz de Veiga, who, besides what was due to his military valour, spent more than 20,000 ducats of his own money in the

provision of arms and ammunition. Assistance was tardily sent by the Governor, but it only arrived after the siege had been raised, and when it was consequently no longer required.

Dom João da Costa, admiral of the Malabar seas, was very successful with his fleet of two galleys and twenty-four other vessels. He attacked the town of Gaipar, near Barcelor, belonging to the King of Tolar, killed 1,500 of the inhabitants, cut down the woods, and burnt the town. In the Chale river da Costa destroyed an island belonging to the Zamorin, and then proceeding a little further up the river he laid in waste the city of Parapangalem. The heir to the throne, who came to its relief, was killed, together with 200 Moors. At Capocate 300 were slain, with the loss of only two Portuguese soldiers. At Mount Dely the town Nilachiram was consumed to ashes. Besides these actions several vessels were captured, from which the galleys were supplied with slaves and the fleet with provisions.

The dominion of the Portuguese in the Moluccas was now drawing to a close. New commanders were continually being sent out efficiently supported by troops for the defence of the Portuguese possessions in those parts, but they one and all seem to have looked to their own private interests rather than those of the State. Dom Alvaro de Ataide was now there in command, but Nuno Pereira was on his way thither to succeed him. The King of Ternate continued the siege of the Portuguese fort on his island, and the place was, by means of the blockade, reduced almost to its last extremities owing to want of provisions. Reinforcements and supplies were indeed dispatched to the relief of the besieged, but an ill fate appears to have prevented them from ever arriving at their destination. The squadron under the command of Marramaque which set out for the relief of Ternate was entirely lost; four ships which Antonio de Valadares and Lacerda were conducting thither were cast away in different places, and Lacerda himself alone arrived to encourage the hearts

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of the beleaguered garrison. Subsequently Francisco de Lima started in a galliot for the same destination, but also failed to arrive. To add to these misfortunes, the King of Ujantana, who had formerly professed himself to be a friend of the Portuguese, now deserted them in their extremity, and gave assistance to their enemy. This, however, does not appear to have been a solitary case in which the Portuguese were deserted by their quondam allies; their power in these parts was clearly on the decline, and there appears now to have been a general concensus of desire on the part of the native powers to join in one effort to rid themselves of the Portuguese yoke.

In short, the Portuguese dominion in the island of Ternate came to a dishonourable end, for those who had so insolently treated the Ternatenses were forced to beg their lives of them, and surrendered the fort to the King, who treated them far better than they deserved.

The King on entering the fortress protested before the Portuguese that he did not take possession of it for himself, but only in trust for the King of Portugal, and that he would deliver it to whomsoever His Majesty might name as soon as the murderer of his father had been punished. The loss of this place was not punished as was that of Chale, although the crime was the same, with this difference, however, that the tears of women brought about the one, while the persuasions of the Jesuits were instrumental in bringing about the other. Both places were lost through relief not being sent, and the punishment should therefore rather have fallen on the heads of those who failed to despatch it than upon those who were compelled to surrender. There was a certain amount of truth in a remark made by the King of Persia to a Portuguese ambassador, of whom he asked "How many Governors of India has the King beheaded?" to which the ambassador replied "None." Whereupon the King said, "Then the dominion of the Portuguese in India will not last long."

Affairs in Amboina were not in a much better position, for though Sancho de Vasconcellos did the best he could with the force at his command, he was not sufficiently supported to enable him effectually to maintain his position. He defeated two fleets of Ternate, killed their commanders and Cachil Tidore; the people of Amboina slew Maladam and many more. By Vasconcello's order Alexandre de Mattos destroyed the island of Jamam, but he and his followers were afterwards slain by the natives. These in their turn were subsequently attacked by Dom Henrique (uncle of the King of Tidore), who with 250 men slew 2,000 of them.

The people of Amboina now entered into a conspiracy to murder Sancho de Vasconcellos, and he suspecting that Ruy de Sousa, a new convert and the chief personage of Rosanive, was the author of that conspiracy, had him arrested. This arrest, however, did more harm than good, for de Sousa escaped from his prison, and going over to the enemy, he betrayed his former friends into their hands, and they slew a great number of Portuguese, placing the affairs of that island in a most desperate and critical condition.

Very little further information exists relative to the proceedings of Antonio Moniz Barreto as Governor of India. He was admittedly very successful in his administration, but was not left sufficiently long in the appointment to effect all the good that might otherwise have been expected of him.

When Francisco Barreto returned to Portugal, in 1559, after having been Governor of India, he was appointed Admiral of the Galleys, and held that command at the time of the memorable action at Pennon, which gained him a great reputation. He returned to Lisbon about the time the King had resolved on making a division of his Eastern possessions, and was nominated by His Majesty to the Governorship of Monomotapa, with the additional title of "Conqueror of the Mines." The great inducement for

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this conquest was the reported existence of vast quantities of gold, particularly at Manica, in the kingdom of Bocaranga.

It was doubted whether a man who had once been Governor of all the Portuguese Eastern possessions would accept an inferior post. Three things, however, prevailed with Francisco Barreto to induce him to accept this governorship; the first being that he was a poor man; the second, he did not consider it lessening to his dignity to take an inferior command in obedience to the wishes of his Prince; and the third, that in the event of his meeting the Viceroy at sea, they were to hold equal power.

Francisco Barreto sailed from Lisbon in April, 1569, with a fleet of three ships on his way out as Captain-general and Governor of Monomotapa. He had with him 1,000 men, among the number being many gentlemen and old African soldiers. Having arrived at Mozambique, he went to subdue the King of Pate, who had revolted against the Portuguese.

Barreto had orders not to undertake anything without consulting Francisco de Monclaros, a certain Jesuit, whose advice, however, brought about the total failure of this enterprise. There were two routes by which to reach the mines, the one through Monomotapa, the other *viâ* Zofala. Barreto was in favour of advancing by the latter route, whilst Monclaros advocated the adoption of the former, and the friar succeeded in carrying his point, notwithstanding all the rest of the party were in favour of Barreto's view on the subject, and Monclaros was thus, it is claimed, the real cause of the failure of the enterprise.

The Empire of Monomotapa from the mouth of the Kuama extended for 250 leagues, and was divided by the River Zambesi, which falls into the Shiré, running through the Bororo territory, where there are many large rivers on the banks, whereof there were many kings, some absolute monarchs, and others subject to Monomotapa. The largest of these rivers is the Mongas, which falls into

the sea between Mozambique and Zofala. The several kingdoms were: Quilimane, 90 leagues from Mozambique; Kuama, 25 leagues to the southward; Luabo, 5 leagues from Kuama; and Luaboel, 15 leagues still further south. The richest mines were those of Musapa, called Aufur, formerly supposed to be the Ophir from which the Queen of Sheba obtained all her wealth. In these mines was found a nugget of gold worth 12,000 ducats and another one worth 400,000 ducats. Thé mines of Manchica and Butica were not much inferior to the foregoing, besides which there were several others of lesser importance. Three fairs or markets were held for the gold trade, which were wont to be attended by the Portuguese from the Castle of Tete on the River Zambesi, 120 leagues from the sea. The first market was held at Luane, four days' journey inland, the second at Buento, a little further off, and the third at Masapa. This gold was exchanged for cloth, glass beads, and other articles of no value to the Portuguese. At Masapa a Portuguese officer resided, who was appointed by the Commander of Mozambique, by consent of the Emperor of Monomotapa, subject to the condition that he was not to go into the country without the King's consent, on pain of death. There were churches of the Dominican Order at Masapa, Bocuto, and Luanze.

In the mountain of Aufur, near Masapa, there were at that time to be seen the ruins of once stately buildings, supposed to have been palaces and castles, which would seem to indicate that the country must at one time have been wealthy and populous. In process of time the Empire became divided into three kingdoms, Quiteve, Sabanda, and Chiganga, the last-named being the most powerful, as possessing several gold mines, including those of Manchica and Butica. The principal produce of the country was rice, Indian-corn, cattle, fowl, and garden produce, and the principal occupation of the people, pasturage and tillage. The Empire was at this date divided into twenty-five kingdoms, which were named Mongas, Baroe, Manica, Boesa, Ma-

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cingo, Remo, Chique, Chiria, Chidima, Boquizo, Inbanzo, Chiruvia, Condefaca, Daburia, Macurumbe, Munguffi, Antiovaza, Chove, Chungue, Dvia, Romba, Raffini, Chirao, Mocaranga, and Remo de Beza. Besides these there were also many petty chiefs who did not aspire to the title of King.

The Emperor resided in a great palace at Monomotapa, built of wood. He had a number of wives, but only nine of them bore the title of Queen, and each of these undertook certain official functions; thus, all affairs connected with the Portuguese in the country were attended to by the principal wife, and all requests from them had to pass through her hands first; the second wife was concerned with the interests of the Moors in the country, and so on. The principal people of Monomotapa were the Mocarangi, who were not a warlike race, and were armed only with bows, arrows, and javelins.

Francisco Barreto set out from Mozambique with a large number of ships, men, tools, horses, and materials of war, to work the mines, and having sailed for a distance of ninety leagues, he proceeded up the River Kuama (a branch of the Zambesi), and arrived at Sena or Fort St. Marcal as Frey Monclaros had desired, and repaired to the town of Inaparapala. Near to this place was a settlement of Moors, and these did all they could to prevent the further progress of the Portuguese, to which end they attempted to poison the army, and some horses and men were destroyed in this manner; but the cause of their death being discovered, a very summary justice was exacted, which for a time put a stop to all obstruction to the further progress of Barreto and his escort.

Barreto then sent an ambassador to the Emperor to obtain leave of him to punish the King of Mongas, who had rebelled, and then to go on to the Batua and Manchica mines. The first part of the request was merely a ruse to obtain the second, because the territory of the Mongas is situated between Sena and the mines, and it would be

necessary to make a way by means of the sword. The King not only granted his request, but offered to supply him with 100,000 men, an offer which Barreto refused, as he did not wish him to share in the honour and glory of that war.

Barreto marched for ten days with twenty-three horse and 560 musketeers, during which time his force suffered great privations through hunger and thirst. His course lay principally along the banks of the River Zambesi, and by the mountains of Lupata. At the end of this tedious march he came in sight of the enemy, and soon afterwards perceived the mountains and valleys covered with armed men. The Governor, undaunted at the sight of this vast horde, gave the van of his army to Vasco Fernandez Homem, he taking the command of the rear, and between these two bodies were placed the baggage and some field-pieces. When the order for a charge was given, the cannon were moved to the front and flanks, and in this formation the Portuguese force advanced to meet the enemy, who came towards it in the form of a crescent.

The enemy, relying apparently upon their superior numbers, advanced in great disorder, discharging an immense number of arrows and darts, without, however, doing much harm; but the Portuguese, maintaining a steady line, and firing volleys from their muskets with deadly effect, mowed down the Caffres by hundreds, so that they turned and fled. The Portuguese followed them for some distance, and killed many more in the pursuit. After a brief halt, Barreto marched on to the city of Mongas, where he encountered another large force, which he put to flight in a similar manner, slaying more than 6,000 Caffres with a loss of only two killed on his side. The city was abandoned by the enemy, whereupon the Portuguese entered without further opposition, and entrenched themselves. The next morning they were attacked by a still larger force of the enemy, who were, however, so completely routed that they sued for peace in their King's name.

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Barreto's reply was that he would himself see the King and adjust matters with him personally. The conclusion of a treaty was, however, prevented at the time, owing to the necessity of the speedy return of Barreto to Mozambique.

It appears that one Antonio Pereira Brandão had, on account of some crime committed by him in the Moluccas, been condemned to banishment to Africa, and at his request Barreto consented that he should accompany him in the expedition to Monomotapa. On arrival at Mozambique, Barreto gave the command of that fort to Brandão; but as soon as Barreto advanced into the interior, Brandão, in the hope of securing the command permanently for himself, began to send false news to Lisbon, and to defame his benefactor. The original letters which Brandão wrote came into the possession of Barreto, who, thereupon, giving the command of his expedition to Vasco Fernandez Homem, returned to Mozambique and confronted Brandão with his own letters. On expressing regret for his base actions, Barreto forgave him, so far that he did not punish him as he deserved; he, however, deprived him of the command of Mozambique, which he conferred upon Lourenço Godinho. After this Barreto returned to his army.

As soon as Barreto arrived at the fort of Sena, Frey Monclaros, who had really been the principal instigator of this expedition, rushed out in a great rage to tell him that he must on no account go on with the conquest; for that otherwise he would be answerable to the Almighty for all the lives that might be sacrificed thereby. The intolerable arrogance and insolence of this man had such an effect upon Barreto, and he took his words so much to heart, that he died of grief within two days.

King Dom Sebastião greatly mourned the death of Barreto, and gave expression to his grief by the honourable reception he caused to be given to his remains when they were taken to Lisbon.

Thus, this man who had escaped so many bullets of the

Indians, so many darts and arrows of the Caffres, and the malice of a villain, now fell a victim to the words of a priest.

On the death of Francisco Barreto, an order from the King was found among his papers, appointing Major Vasco Fernandez Homem to succeed him. The persuasions of Frey Monclaros, who had taken a strong dislike to the present enterprise, so far prevailed on him, that, yielding to the persuasion of the priest, he returned to Mozambique. Better counsels, however, prevailed later on, and Vasco Homem went again to Monomotapa. Having now got rid of this religious fanatic, he proceeded by way of Zofala, and marched direct to the mines of Manchica, in the kingdom of Chitanga, which was the next in power and importance to Monomotapa. Passing through Quiteyve, Vasco Fernandez endeavoured to conciliate the King of that place with presents. In spite of this, however, the King attempted to stop the progress of the Portuguese, and sent some Caffres to oppose them; but these were speedily defeated, and the King thereupon caused all the inhabitants and provisions of the towns to be removed into the interior, so that the expeditionary force suffered great privations until they came to Zimbabye, the chief city of that kingdom. On the approach of the Portuguese, the King fled, and fortified himself in some neighbouring mountains. Vasco Fernandez, finding the city deserted, burnt it, and then marched on to Chitanga, where he was received by the King of that place with marks of affection, and obtained from him a free passage to the mines. Having arrived there, the Portuguese were much perplexed, as the ore was not only very scarce, but the labour entailed in getting gold was enormous, and in fact almost impracticable to inexperienced hands. They therefore soon gave up the attempt, and returned the same way they had come, greatly disappointed at the results. Having parted good friends with the King of Chitanga, Vasco returned to Quiteyve, the King of

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which place granted now, purely out of fear, what he had at first refused, and permitted the Portuguese to march unhindered to the mines of Maninas, on the single condition that they should pay him a sum of twenty crowns annually. From Quiteyve, Vasco passed on to the kingdom of Chicova, in quest of some rich silver mines which he had been informed were to be found there. The Caffres of the country, having been made acquainted with the object of this visit, and feeling themselves unable to resist them by force, adopted a stratagem to prevent them from finding the mines, and having scattered some ore in a locality some distance from the actual mine, directed the Portuguese thither. Whilst they were engaged in digging the ground in search of silver ore, the Caffres made their escape, and left Vasco Fernandez to his own resources. Provisions soon began to grow scarce, whilst no supplies were to be obtained in the neighbourhood. Finding their efforts fruitless, Vasco Fernandez withdrew with the majority of his party, and left Antonio Cardoso de Almeida with 200 men to make further enquiries, and search for the actual locality of the mine.

Cardoso suffered himself to be once more deceived by the Caffres, who, under the pretence of conducting him to the mines, drew him into an ambush, and falling on his company in overwhelming numbers, killed him and his whole force.

Thus ended the government to which Francisco Barreto had been appointed. Although no successor was nominated to succeed Vasco Fernandez Homem, the Portuguese, notwithstanding their ill-success in these parts, continued on terms of friendship with the Emperor of Monomopata, and still carried on a trade with his people.

Ruy Lourenço de Tavora sailed from Lisbon in the beginning of 1576 with four ships to succeed Antonio Moniz Barreto as Viceroy of India. He died, however, on the voyage at Mozambique. On the arrival of the

ships at Goa, the Royal Patents of Succession were opened, and Dom Diogo de Menezes was the person named in the first. Dom Diogo was then at Goa, and as soon as he took over the government, he fitted out several squadrons, which he sent in different directions. Four captains who were on the northern coast put into the port of Dabhol, which place was then at peace with the Portuguese, and they were well received there by the Thanadar Melique Tocan, who offered to supply them with anything they might require, and invited the captains, Dom Jeronymo Mascarenhas, Dom Diogo, and Dom Antonio da Sylveira, and Francisco Pessoa, with their officers, to dine with him. All accepted the invitation but Mascarenhas, who, suspecting some treachery, remained on board his vessel in the harbour. After dinner, whilst the guests were enjoying themselves, they were suddenly attacked by some hired assassins and brutally murdered, with the exception of a few who succeeded in reaching the shore, and escaped to their vessels. The murderers then attacked Mascarenhas' ship, but were repulsed, and Dom Jeronymo immediately afterwards left and conveyed the news of this disaster to Goa.

As soon as the Governor was informed of the treachery of the Thanadar of Dabhol, he dispatched Dom Pedro de Menezes with a small fleet to avenge this wrong, ordering him to lay in wait for the Mecca ships, and do all the mischief he could on the coast of the Adil Khan. Menezes fell in with two large ships, which he destroyed. This was the state of affairs when, in August, Dom Luiz de Ataide arrived at Goa to take up the government for the second time.

The King, Dom Sebastião, had for some time past been preparing an expedition for Northern Africa, and being dissatisfied with the progress against the Moors made by Ruy Lourenço de Carvalho, the Governor of Tangiers, he determined to conduct this expedition in person. The King then, against the advice of the Queen Regent, of the Cardinal Infante, and even of his confessor, favourite, and

HAP. I A.D. 1578. minister, the Jesuit Luiz Gonçalves, persisted in his foolish enterprise, which was to add Morocco to the Crown of Portugal. An attempt to induce Philip II. of Spain to join him was ineffectual. Money for this expedition was only obtained with great difficulty, and an army of 24,000 men, taken principally from the lowest classes, was all that could be collected to accompany the King. Dom Luiz de Ataide, Count de Athouguia, was then, perhaps, the most distinguished and experienced general in Portugal, and the King felt that he could not properly omit to offer to him the command of the expedition. The veteran soldier, however, declined the charge, whereupon the King, Dom Sebastião, who was by no means displeased at this refusal, took occasion to nominate him Viceroy of India, where affairs had become complicated. Another valiant soldier, and one of the greatest heroes of India, Martim Affonso de Sousa, was also left out of the expedition in consequence of his having spoken against the project in strong words, which were overheard by the King.

This expedition to Africa sailed from Lisbon on the 25th June, 1578, and reached Tangiers on the 7th July. Thence it proceeded to the attack of Larache, and the ill-fated King, Dom Sebastião, fell at Alcacer Kibir, on the 4th August, fighting like a hero, in a hopeless enterprise. When the day was unquestionably lost to the Portuguese, Dom Sebastião, followed by a few nobles, charged into the midst of the enemy, and was never again seen or heard of. A few days after the battle a dead body was found on the field, which, it was said, was that of Dom Sebastião, but it was so disfigured that no one could recognise or identify him. By his death was forged nearly the last link of the chain that had for some time past been gradually encircling the fortunes of the kingdom, now about to be absorbed by its covetous and ambitious neighbour.

The expenses incurred in preparing for this fatal expedition to Africa rendered it very difficult to equip an efficient fleet to convey the new Viceroy to India. In

going to take up this appointment for a second time, Dom Luiz de Ataide was accompanied by Nuno Vello Pereira and João Alvarez Laurez. The fleet left Lisbon in the spring of 1577, and arrived at Goa, after a prosperous voyage, about the end of August, where the new Viceroy was received with great rejoicings.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1577.

News of the disaster that befel the Portuguese arms in Africa was not long in reaching India. The fate of that expedition had long been foreseen by Dom Luiz, and he, knowing the effects that it would be likely to have upon the Indian Princes, had so far anticipated the results as to set about preparing an overwhelming fleet immediately on his arrival at Goa, the object of which he carefully kept to himself; but it served the purpose of showing to the people of India that whatever reverses the Portuguese might have sustained elsewhere, he was ready to meet, with a strong force, any emergency that might arise in those parts. The next care of Dom Luiz was to send supplies and reinforcements to Dom Pedro de Menezes to enable him to act the more vigorously against Melique Tocan, the Thanadar of Dabhol, and he himself conducted the war against the Adil Khan along the river of Goa. In this latter enterprise he was so far successful that the Adil Khan soon sued for peace, promising as a condition of the same to banish the traitor Melique Tocan not only from Dabhol, but from his dominions for ever. Peace was accordingly concluded on these terms, and the Portuguese forces then retired to their own territories.

Immediately after the death of the King Dom Sebastião, two caravels were dispatched from Lisbon to carry the sad news to Goa and Malacca. It was, however, impossible for them to communicate the full depths of the loss which this disaster would prove to Portugal. As the political changes which occurred in Europe consequent on the death of Dom Sebastião had a most important effect upon the Indian possessions of Portugal, they may not inappropriately be briefly here referred to.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1578.

Upon the news of the disaster at Alcacer Kibir reaching Lisbon, the whole city was thrown into a state of consternation and alarm. The Cardinal Dom Henrique, although he coveted the Kingship, yet did not dare, in view of the mystery which hovered around the death of Dom Sebastião, to declare the throne vacant, and he therefore appointed a Council of Ministers to resolve upon the best way to act under the circumstances. These decided that until the receipt of definite and trustworthy news respecting Dom Sebastião, the Cardinal should assume the government of the kingdom under the title of Curator of Portugal. Dom Henrique accordingly assumed the title of Curator on the 24th August, 1578, and a few days later a letter arrived from Belchior de Amaral, who was a prisoner of the Moors, wherein he affirmed having identified the body of Dom Sebastião. Thus was removed the only difficulty that had prevented Dom Henrique from assuming the royal title, and, after two days of general mourning for Dom Sebastião, he was crowned King on the 29th August.

Portugal was now in great want of money, but, notwithstanding its financial necessities, Dom Henrique contrived to equip and dispatch five ships to India, fearing lest when Dom Sebastião's death became known new troubles should arise in the East.

Notwithstanding the terms of the treaty recently concluded with the Adil Khan, he still permitted Melique Tocan to remain at Dabhol, where he not only publicly exercised his office as Thanadar, but had built a great ship which he intended for the Mecca trade. As soon as these facts came to the knowledge of the Viceroy he dispatched Dom Paulo de Lima Pereira to Dabhol with ten sail to enforce the terms of the treaty. Dom Paulo, on arriving there, found the whole shore fortified with a great number of cannon, 6,000 horse, and a large number of infantry. Being unable readily to disperse this great force with the means then at his disposal, Dom Paulo proceeded up the

river, where he destroyed a great many towns. The enemy then called in to their aid two Malabarese pirates, Cartale and Mandaviray, who were in the neighbouring seas with five galliots. Melique joined them with five other sail, manned by 500 resolute Turks and Persians. A fierce engagement soon ensued; the Portuguese boarded the enemy's vessels, and engaged in a hand-to-hand encounter, with the result that only one of the enemy's ships escaped, and all the others were either captured or destroyed. Dom Paulo then returned to Goa, accompanied by nine more vessels than he had with him when he left that place.

With the arrival of the vessels that were sent out by the Regents of Portugal after the death of Dom Henrique, new Patents of Succession to the appointment of Viceroy were received. The first named therein being Fernão Telles de Menezes, he was accordingly installed in that office by the Bishop of Malacca, who chanced just then to be at Goa.

At this time the kingdom of Vizapor was thrown into an unsettled condition, owing to the death of the Adil Khan, who left no son to succeed him. The throne was accordingly occupied by his nephew Abraham, whose father, Icatamas, had been killed by the late Prince. A conspiracy was, however, got up against Abraham by a powerful chief named Quisbalechan, who, being joined by others, entered Vizapor with a strong force and seized the Prince. The Portuguese naturally looked on at these disturbances in their close proximity with some considerable degree of anxiety, but nothing then occurred to necessitate their interference, or to cause any immediate anxiety for the safety of Goa.

The vessels that arrived in India in 1581 conveyed the intelligence that Philip II. of Spain had been declared King of Portugal under the title of Philip I., accompanied by instructions that all in India should swear allegiance to His Majesty. Fernão Tellez accordingly administered the oath to those who were with him with great solemnity

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1581.

in the church of Goa, on the 3rd September. The captains then commanding the several forts in India were as follows: At Goa, Dom Tristão de Menezes; at Zofala and Mozambique, Dom Pedro de Castro; at Ormuz, Dom Gonzala de Menezes; at Daman, Martim Affonso de Mello; at Bassein, Dom Manoel de Almada; at Chaul, Dom Ferdinão de Castro; at Cannanore, Jorge Toscano; at Cochin, Dom Jorge de Menezes Baroche; at Columbo, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho; at Tidore, Diogo de Azambuja; and at Malacca, Dom João de Gama.

The Governor having been informed that some Malabarese pirates, in four galliots, were harboured in the rivers about Goa, sent Mathias de Albuquerque with ten small merchant vessels to attack them. This he successfully accomplished, capturing three of the vessels, whose crews, however, escaped by leaping overboard and swimming to the shore. About the same time it was ascertained that there were two large ships at Masulipatam, one of which belonged to the King of Achin, and was believed to be preparing for an attack on Malacca; and the other, which was richly laden, belonged to the King of Pegu. The Governor sent Gonçalo Vaz de Camoens with four ships to seize them, but the Achinese, having become informed of this intention, got away before the arrival of Gonçalo Vaz, and so escaped. The other vessel was, according to all accounts, very strongly armed, and Gonçalo Vaz therefore refrained from attacking it, with the assent of his captains, and sailed away to Pegu. Here he fell in with some Malabarese pirates, who captured two of his vessels, and off Cape Negrais he met the ship he had evaded at Masulipatam, and was unable to avoid an engagement. A severe encounter took place, in which the enemy was defeated and their vessel sunk, after the Portuguese had taken on board as much of its merchandise as their two galliots could contain. Shortly afterwards Gonçalo Vaz met with the Prince of Pegu, who, with a fleet said to consist of 1,300 sail, was on his way bent on the conquest of Arakan.

After a slight engagement with some of the advance ships of the squadron, the Portuguese, spreading all the sail they could carry, fled away from the overwhelming force of the enemy, and succeeded in getting into Arakan.

About this time, three Turkish galleys set out from the port of Mocha, having been dispatched by the Bashaw Mirazenam to plunder Muscat. The command of this enterprise was given to Alibec, a Turk, who was accustomed to marauding expeditions. On arrival at Muscat, Alibec landed a party of men some little distance from the port, and then dispatched his vessels, with instructions that as soon as they entered the harbour they were to commence a furious cannonade, so as to draw the attention of the inhabitants to that direction; and he then, with his land force, took them in the rear. The Portuguese in the town, unprepared for this sudden attack, were at once panic-stricken, and, being unable to organise any defence, thought only of their individual safety, and the whole population fled to Bruxel, a town about five leagues inland, few of them being able to save any of their property, whereupon Alibec entered and obtained a vast amount of spoil without experiencing any opposition. The Portuguese were well received by Catani, the Sheik of Bruxel, and remained there until Alibec retired, whereupon they all returned to Muscat, and found the place completely plundered.

As soon as the news of the sack of Muscat reached Ormuz, Dom Gonçalo de Menezes dispatched an expedition under Luiz de Almeida to follow after Alibec's vessels, but he, instead of carrying out his instructions, went to attack the city of Pesani. The news of his intentions having arrived there before him, Luiz de Almeida found Pesani deserted, whereupon he landed, and, having plundered the city, he burnt it and about fifty vessels that were in the bay. He then proceeded to Guadel, which shared a similar fate; and he afterwards destroyed Teis of the

CHAP. I. Abindos, and lastly Gedrosia, on the banks of the River Calamen.

A.D. 1581. Whilst these events were taking place, Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas arrived in India, on the 11th April, 1581, with the title of Viceroy, being the first sent out by King Philip. To him Ferdinão Telles surrendered the government of India, after having held it for six months.

Thus ended the first period of the Portuguese rule in India, and it may not, therefore, be inappropriate to give here a brief summary of the events narrated in the foregoing pages, as related by the native historian Nawáb Muhabbat Khán, in his "Akhbár-i Muhabbat," from Sir H. Elliot's *History of India.*

"Let it not be hidden from the sun-resembling minds of those who understand the value of the gems of intelligence, that, previous to the rise of Muhammadanism, the Jews and the Christians had intercourse, as merchants, with most of the ports of the Dakhin, such as Palniar* and others. Having become familiar with the people of that country, they established their residence in some of the cities, and built houses and gardens.

"In this manner they sojourned for many years. When the great star of Muhammadanism appeared, and the rays of that world-enlightening sun shone from the east to the west, gradually the countries of Hindustan and the Dakhin were also benefited by the light of the Muhammadan law, and intercourse of the Musulmans with that country began. Many of the Kings and rulers of that country espoused the Muhammadan faith. The Rajas of he ports of Goa, Dabal, and Chand, &c., allowed all the Musulmans who came there from the different parts of Arabia to settle on the sea-shore, and treated them with great honour and respect. For this cause the Jews and Christians burned with the fire of envy and malice. But when the countries of the Dakhin and Gujarat came into the possession of the Kings of Delhi, and Islam was

* Perhaps Palnad, the name of the district in which Calicut is situated.

established in them, the Europeans put the seal of silence on their lips, and never uttered a word of animosity or opposition, till at length, about the year 900 A.H. (1495 A.D.), when weakness and disorder found their way into the government of the Sultans of the Dakhin, the Portuguese Christians received orders from their King to build their forts on the shore of the Indian Ocean. In the year 904 A.H. (1499 A.D.), four ships of the same people arrived at the ports of Kandaria* and Kalikot (Calicut), and having made themselves acquainted with the circumstances of the place, they returned to their own country. Next year six vessels came and anchored at Kalikot. The Portuguese petitioned the chief of the place, who was called Samuri (Zamorin), to prohibit the Muhammadans from intercourse with Arabia, remarking that they would benefit him much more than the Muhammadans could. The Samuri, however, gave no heed to their prayers, but the Christians began to deal harshly with the Muhammadans in all their transactions. At last the Samuri, being provoked, gave orders that the Christians should be slain and plundered. Seventy persons of rank were destroyed among the Christians, and those who remained embarked on the vessels, and thus saved themselves. They landed near the city of Koji (Cochin), the chief of which was at hostility with the Samuri. They obtained his permission to build a fort, which they completed hurriedly in a very short time. They demolished a mosque on the sea-shore, and made a Christian church of it. This was the first fort which the Christians built in India.

"With the same expedition they built a fort at Kanur (Cannanore), and to their entire satisfaction engaged in the trade of pepper and dry ginger, preventing others from engaging in the same traffic. On this account the Samuri raised an army, and having killed the son of the chief of

* The passage of Firishta, from which this account seems to be taken, and which is abstracted from the Tuhfatu-l Mujahidin (Briggs, vol. iv., p. 534), has "Koilad"; but the lithographed original, which, as usual, differs very much from the translation, has "Kandaria."

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1505-9.

Koji, plundered the country and returned. The heirs of those who were slain again collected their forces, raised the standard of sovereignty, and restored the population of the country to its former state. By the advice of the Firingis they built ships of war, and the chief of Cannanore followed their example. This excited the anger of the Samuri, who lavished immense treasure upon an army raised for the purpose of attacking Koji; but as the Firingis always gave their assistance to its chief, the Samuri returned twice unsuccessful. He was at last obliged to send his ambassadors to the Kings of Egypt, Jedda, Dakhin, and Gujarat, complaining to them of the outrages of the Christians, and imploring their aid. He also at the same time represented their disrespect towards Islam, and thus excited the wrath as well as the zeal of those Princes. The Sultan of Egypt, Mansur Ghori, sent one of his officers named Amir Husain with thirteen ships (ghrabs) full of fighting men and munitions of war towards the coasts of Hindustan. Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat also prepared several ships to oppose the Firingis, and dispatched them from the ports of Diu, Surat, Goga, Dabal, and Chand. The Egyptian vessels touched first at Diu, and joining those of Gujurat, sailed towards Chand, where the Firingis had assembled. This force was augmented by forty vessels of the Samuri, and some from the port of Dabal. When the junction was effected, a fire-ship of the Firingis, without being observed, suddenly fell upon their rear, and the whole surface of the water was instantly in a blaze. Malik Ayaz, the chief of Diu, and Amir Husain, prepared to oppose the enemy, but all to no avail. Several Egyptian ships were taken by the enemy, numerous Muhammadans drank the sweet water of martyrdom, and the Firingis returned victorious to their port.

"It was during these days that Sultan Salim of Rum obtained a victory over the Ghori Sultans of Egypt, and thus their dynasty closed. The Samuri, who was the

originator of all these disturbances, was disheartened, and the Firingis obtained complete power; so much so, that in the month of Ramazan, 915 A.H. (Dec., 1509 A.D.), they came into Kalikot, set the 'Jama'-masjid' on fire, and swept the city with the broom of plunder. Next day, the Palnadis collected in large numbers, and falling upon the Christians killed 500 men of rank, and many were drowned in the sea. Those who escaped the sword fled to the port of Kulim (Coulon). Having entered into friendly relations with the zamindar of that place, they erected a fortress for their protection about half a farsakh from the city.

"In the same year they took the fort of Goa, belonging to Yusuf Adil Shah, who retook it by stratagem; but after a short time, the Firingis, having bribed the Governor of the place with large sums of gold, again became its masters, and they made the fort, which was exceedingly strong, the seat of their government. This made sorrow and grief prey upon the health of the Samuri, who expired in 921 A.H. (1515 A.D.). His brother, who succeeded him, rolled up the carpet of destruction, and pursued the path of friendship with the Firingis. He gave them ground for a fort near the city of Kalikot, and took an agreement from them that he should be allowed to send four ships laden with pepper and dry ginger to the ports of Arabia. For some time the Firingis observed these terms; but when the fort was completed, they prohibited his trading in those articles, and began again to practise all kinds of tyranny and persecution upon the followers of Islam.

"In like manner, the Jews of Kranghir (Cranganore) observing the weakness of the Samuri, advanced their foot beyond the proper limit, and made a great many Muhammadans drink the cup of martyrdom. The Samuri, repenting of his concessions, marched towards Cranganore, and so entirely extirpated the Jews that not a trace of them was found in that land. After this, joined by all

CHAP. I. A.D. 1531-56.

the Musulmans of Palnad, he proceeded to Kalikot, and laid siege to the fort of the Firingis, which he reduced with great difficulty. This increased the power and pride of the Palnadis, who, according to the terms of the original agreement with the Firingis, began to send their ships full of pepper, dry ginger, &c., to the ports of Arabia.

"In the year 938 A.H. (1531 A.D.), the Firingis founded a fort at Jaliat, six kos from Kalikot, and prevented the sailing of the Palnadi vessels. About the same time, during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah, the Christians built a fort at Rivadanda, near the port of Chaul, and took up their residence there. In the reign of Sultan Bahadur Shah, of Gujurat, 941 A.H. (1534 A.D.), they took possession of the ports of Swalh, Daman, and Diu, which belonged to the Kings of Gujarat, and in the year 943 A.H. (1536 A.D.) they fully established themselves at Cranganore by force of arms.

"At this time, Sultan Salim of Rum determined to expel the Firingis from the ports of India, and make himself master of them. With this view, in the year 944 A.H. (1537 A.D.), he dispatched his minister, Sulaiman Badshah, in command of 100 vessels, and he, having wrested the port of Aden from Shaikh 'Amr, son of Shaikh Daud, whom he put to death, sailed to the port of Diu, and there made preparations for war. He was nearly victorious, but, for want of provisions and treasure, he was obliged to return unsuccessful to Rum.

"In the year 963 A.H. (1556 A.D.), the Tarsas (Christians) were in possession of the ports of Hurmuz, Muskat, Sumatra, Malacca, Mangalore, Negapatum, Barcelore. Ceylon, and Bengal, to the very borders of China. In all these places they built their forts. But Sultan 'Ali Hai captured the fort of Sumatra from them, and the chief of Ceylon also, having subdued the Firingis, expelled them from his dominions. The Samuri, chief of Kalikot, being much harassed, sent his ambassadors to 'Ali 'Adil Shah and Murtaza Nizam Shah, instigating them to wage a

holy war against the Firingis and turn them out of their country. CHAP. I.

"In 979 A.H. (1570 A.D.) the Samuri besieged the fort of Jaliat, and Nizam Shah and 'Adil Shah besieged that of Rivadanda. The former, through his courage, was successful in capturing the fort; but the latter, on account of the infidelity of their servants, who were deceived by the temptations which the Firingis offered them, returned without fulfilling their object. A.D. 1570.

"From this time the Christians became more audacious in their persecution of the Muhammadans, in so far that they stretched out their rapacious hands to plunder on their return from Jedda some ships of the Emperor Jalal-ud din Muhammad Akbar, which had sailed to Mecca without their permission, and they treated the Musulmans with great severity and contempt. They burnt down the port of Adilabad Farain, which belonged to 'Adil Shah, and entirely destroyed it. In the guise of merchants, they also came to Dabal, and wished, by cunning and deceitful means, to obtain possession of it; but its chief, Khwaja 'Aliu-l Malik, a merchant of Shiraz, being aware of their views, killed 150 of their men of rank, and devoted himself to extinguish the fire of mischief."

CHAPTER II.

Intrigues of King Philip II. of Spain to obtain Adherents in Portugal—Victory of the Spanish Arms at Alcantara—Submission of Portugal to the King of Spain—Dom Francisco Mascarenhas Viceroy of India—The Portuguese Possessions in India swear fealty to King Philip—Destruction of Towns on the Coast of India—Appearance of Mughal Forces before Daman—Single Combat between the Mughal General and a Portuguese Officer—Attack on Sarceta– Rise of Raja Singha to Power in Ceylon—Siege of Ormuz by the King of Lara—The King of Ormuz assisted by the Portuguese—Capture of the Fort of Xamel—Attack on Malacca by the King of Achin—Departure of Antonio de Mello de Castro for India—Expedition against the King of Coles—Chale made Tributary, and Erection of a Fort there—Destruction of Pagodas in the Island of Salsette—Catholic Churches Wrecked — Revolution in Adil Khan's Dominions—Insurrection in Ceylon—Expedition against the Naik of Sanguicer—Appointment of Dom Duarte de Menezes as Viceroy.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1579.

King Philip II. of Spain had for some time been striving in every possible way to win partisans in Portugal, with a view to the realisation of his ambitious desire to add that country to the possessions of the Crown of Spain. The Cardinal-King, who was in declining health and sixty-six years of age, could not leave a direct successor to the throne and crown, and hence it became necessary that during his lifetime it should be decided who was to succeed him. There existed two direct native claimants to the throne, for so soon as it should become vacant, besides others of foreign nationality who possessed certain contingent rights of the two direct claimants. One of these was the Duchess of Braganza, who was niece to Dom Henrique, and the other the Prior of Crato, an illegitimate son of

the Infante Dom Luiz, brother of Dom João III. Philip II. of Spain was, however, bent on the conquest of Portugal, to which end he sent Christovão de Moura, a wily courtier, who was connected with some of the highest families in Portugal, ostensibly to salute Dom Henrique, but secretly to obtain adherents in that country, and so prepare the people to favour the pretensions of the King of Spain to the inheritance of the Portuguese throne. At the same time the Duke of Alba was preparing for an invasion of the country, in case diplomatic means should fail, and it might become necessary to resort to force in order to attain the desired end.

By means of Castilian gold freely distributed by Christovão de Moura, many of the first families in Portugal were induced to become traitors to their country, and even Dom Antonio, the Prior of Crato, entered into negotiations with Philip II. to sell his claims to the throne. These, however, failed, because the King of Spain did not deem the Prior's rights were worth the price he placed on them. Philip II. offered him the dignity of Prior of Leon and Castile, which he refused, trusting to his popularity that he should be freely elected King by the people. The Duke of Braganza was offered the possession and title of the kingdom of the Algarve, but he likewise refused, feeling certain of wearing the crown of Portugal, owing to the decided favour his pretensions met with from the Cardinal-King, and which were also favoured by the Jesuits.

Dom Henrique endeavoured to dispose of the claims of the Prior of Crato by procuring a verdict against his legitimacy, and by having him subsequently tried on a criminal charge, of which he was convicted, and was sentenced to perpetual exile, with the deprivation of all titles, honours, and revenues. After this, so far from declaring the Duchess of Braganza the lawful heir, Dom Henrique, on the advice of corrupted agents of the King of Spain, actually entered into negotiations

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CHAP. II.

with the view of recognising the claims of Philip II to the throne of Portugal.

A.D. 1579-80.

Whilst affairs were still in a state of uncertainty, the ailments from which the Cardinal-King had long suffered became much aggravated, and he thereupon, towards the end of June, 1579, appointed five Regents of the kingdom in the event of his death. Weakened, possibly, by his illness, and corrupted by the seductions of Dom Christovão de Moura, Dom Henrique ultimately abandoned the claims of his niece, the Duchess of Braganza, and sent a message to the Cortes by the Bishop Antonio Pinheiro, in which the King declared to the representatives of the people that Philip II. was the claimant to the throne he acknowledged as having the legitimate right. "On hearing this message," says Pinheiro Chagas, "Phœbus Moniz rose up full of indignation, and in a paroxysm of grief protested with face bathed in tears and plucking his beard in despair against such base treachery." This proposal was met with the greatest indignation by the people, and on the 22nd January, 1580, nearly all the representatives of the kingdom assisted publicly at the Holy Communion, and, when receiving the Sacrament, swore to prefer death to pledging obedience to Philip II.

McMurdo remarks that "the Governors, on witnessing the popular agitation, surrounded themselves with soldiers, fearing lest a revolution should break out; meanwhile that the Duke of Braganza clamoured against the injustice done to his wife. Dom Antonio summoned his partisans, and the Castilians joined together to deliberate whether to order the troops of Philip II. to enter without delay. It was in the midst of all these rumours of war and conflict, the echoes of which resounded in the solitary chamber of death, that Dom Henrique breathed his last sigh at eleven at night of the 31st January, 1580."

The Regents, who now assumed office, were not men

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1580.

capable of guiding the State through the existing troublous times. They were wanting in prestige, and were distrusted by the people, it being well known that, with one exception, they had all been bought over by the gold of Castile. The Duke of Braganza and the Prior of Crato both now advocated their respective claims to the throne, and Philip II. brought pressure to bear upon the Regents to induce them to proclaim him King of Portugal. They, however, delayed taking any such a step as this, which would have plainly proved them to be traitors to their country. In their embarrassment they appealed to England and France to assist them to maintain their independence, but they appealed in vain. They were already too far in the power of Spain to act with any independence, and Philip II. at length became impatient, and gave them until the following June to declare him King, failing which he threatened to send an army to conquer the country. The Regents made a show of making preparation against the threatened invasion by appointing commanders to the several important towns and forts, but they supplied them with no men or other means of defence. At last the patience of the King became exhausted. On the 13th June, 1580, he reviewed his army on the field of Cantilena, and, although the force would have been utterly disproportionate to the importance of the undertaking had any effective resistance been offered, the principal frontier towns of Portugal surrendered, one after another, without the slightest attempt to defend themselves. The Portuguese were without a leader, and in this emergency Dom Antonio caused himself to be proclaimed King at Santarem, and was received with great enthusiasm by an excited populace. Followed by such forces as he could muster, he marched towards Lisbon, and was joined on the way by some divisions of militia.

Dom Antonio entered Lisbon on the 23rd June, whereupon the nobility and the better classes retired from the

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CHAP. II. A.D. 1580.

city. He then wrote to all the principal nobles, including the Duke of Braganza, inviting them to aid his cause; but none of them replied or made any sign in his favour. The Regents, in a state of alarm, took refuge in a caravel and escaped to the Algarve, and Christovão de Moura soon after followed and withdrew to the camp of the Duke of Alba.

At this juncture the Duke of Braganza wrote to Philip II. expressing his willingness to join him against the Prior of Crato, judging that the triumph of Dom Antonio would be one of the greatest affronts to his name and rights.

Whilst the Spanish army was capturing, without resistance, all the principal towns, the navy, under the command of the Marquis de Santa Cruz, was occupying the several seaports without firing a shot. The only place at which any attempt at resistance was made was at Setubal, where Dom Antonio had collected his forces; but the commander of this place also speedily surrendered, after which other places south of the Tagus did not await an attack, but immediately submitted. Dom Antonio then retired to Lisbon, but the advancing forces of the enemy soon appeared before its gates, and sixty of their vessels sailed up the waters of the Tagus. Here Dom Antonio determined to make a stand, and his army was drawn up in an advantageous position on the left margin of Alcantara. The attack was made on the morning of the 25th August, and despite the bravery of Dom Antonio and the nobles with him, an hour after the battle commenced the victory of the Spanish arms was proclaimed.

Dom Antonio fled from the field of battle to Santarem and Coimbra, where he succeeded in collecting together some volunteers, who constituted, however, more an armed rabble than an army; and although occupying an excellent position at Oporto for defence, they allowed the city to be surrendered almost without firing a shot. Dom Antonio,

on whose head Philip II. had placed a price, fled from the country.

As soon as the King of Spain received in Badajoz the official dispatches which announced the victory at Alcantara, he immediately ordered the Duke of Alba not to treat Portugal as a conquered country, but to endeavour to win the affection of his new subjects.

On the 11th September, when order had been completely re-established in Lisbon, the aldermen and corporation took the oath of fidelity to Philip II. at the hands of the Duke of Alba; and on the following day the ceremony of the proclamation of the Sovereign was performed, without any pomp and amid perfect quiet.

On the 5th December, 1580, Philip II. quitted Badajoz and entered Elvas, where he received the homage of the Archbishop of Evora, and of other dignitaries of the Church, and of representatives of various religious orders. From thence he gave orders for the Cortes to be assembled at the town of Thomar, and thither His Majesty also shortly afterwards proceeded. The Cortes met on the 16th April, 1581, at which Philip was formally proclaimed King, and took the usual oaths, after which the oath to be taken by the three States was read out and duly subscribed to. Philip II. of Spain thus became King of Portugal under the title of Philip I., and his son Prince Dom Diego was, on the following day, sworn heir to the kingdom. Thus was Portugal sold to the King of Spain by her own sons, and failed to recover her independence until the generations of those who had so basely betrayed her had, in the ordinary course of nature, passed away.

In the presence of a great Cortes held at Thomar on the 15th April, 1581, Philip II. of Spain, on assuming the sovereignty of Portugal, swore that he and his successors would observe the following conditions, which had been settled by his agents. He swore that he would maintain the privileges and liberties of the Portuguese people; that the Cortes should be frequently summoned to meet in

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Portugal; that the Viceroy or chief Governor should always be a native, unless the King should give that charge to one of the royal family; that the royal household should be kept up on the same scale as heretofore; that all offices, civil, military, and judicial, and all dignities in the Church, and all the orders of knighthood, within the kingdom, should be conferred upon Portuguese subjects alone; that the commerce of Africa, Persia, and India should be reserved to them, and carried on only in their vessels; that he would make no royal grant of any city, town, or royal jurisdiction to any but Portuguese; that forfeited or lapsed estates should never be absorbed in the royal domain, but be regranted to some relative of the last possessor or to some other Portuguese subject; that the King should reside as much as possible in Portugal, and that, when he did come, he should not take the houses of private individuals for his officers, but observe the custom of Portugal; that there should be always resident at the royal court an ecclesiastic, a chancellor, a treasurer, and two masters of requests, of Portuguese birth and nationality, to manage all business relating to their country; that the revenue of Portugal should be kept distinct from that of Spain, and be spent in the kingdom; that all matters of justice should be finally settled there; that Portuguese noblemen should be admitted to offices in the households of the King and Queen of Spain; that all Customs duties at the land frontiers should be abolished; and that he, the King, should at once grant 300,000 crowns out of his royal treasury to redeem prisoners, repair cities, and relieve the miseries which the plague had brought upon the Portuguese people.

Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, Count of Santa Cruz, was the first Viceroy sent to India, after the subjugation of the kingdom of Portugal by the King of Spain. He had already had considerable experience in India, where he had greatly distinguished himself by the gallant defence of the city of Chaul with a few men, and no wall, against

the power of Nizamaluco, who had besieged it with 150,000 men. Dom Francisco was accompanied by a fleet of five ships, and on arrival at Goa on the 16th September, 1581, he found that all India had already proclaimed King Philip, in accordance with the instructions that had previously been sent to the Governor, Fernão Telles de Menezes. The new Viceroy, finding that India had thus accepted the change of King, was in no anxiety on that score, and was thus free to at once apply himself to the ordinary affairs of the government, and he accordingly first gave his attention to the dispatch of various squadrons, as was customary in the beginning of summer. Amongst these, one under Mathias de Albuquerque, consisting of two galleys and twenty other vessels and 700 men, was ordered for the coast of Malabar. On arrival there Albuquerque sent Francisco Fernandes with eighteen sail to burn Coulete the lesser, which was a nest of pirates; and this he successfully accomplished without the loss of one man: he then did the same at Capocate, where sixty almadies, or fishing-vessels, were taken, and the surrounding country was devastated by fire and sword. A hundred Moors of Capocate, seeing their houses burnt, ran in a rage to the shore, where Affonso Ferreira, with eighteen men, withstood them till he was relieved from the ships, and he finally got off without loss, but some of the enemy were killed by the Portuguese cannon. Dom Giles Yanez also burnt some vessels and killed several men up the Capocate river, after which the expedition returned to their vessels, having by the aforementioned deeds spread terror amongst the people of all the neighbouring coast.

The loss caused by this enterprise fell chiefly on the Queens of the mountains between Calicut and Cannanore, and the Queen of Olala, whose towns and woods had been burnt and cut down. The people of that country were thus forced to submission, and paid the tribute they had withheld for some years past. The Balala of Panabur was also again brought under subjection. Francisco Fer-

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nandes Alvaro de Avelar, and André Furtado, each took a considerable ship. Affonso Ferreira, near Coulete, with only a few men, attacked a fort of the Moors, which he captured and razed, killing at the same time a large number of its defenders.

Diogo Lopes Coutinho de Santarem, cruising on the northern coast with eight sail, near Surat, burnt a village of the Mughals, because they had killed six of twenty-four men, who, without orders, went ashore; but as he drew off the enemy came down in great numbers with some elephants, and one piece of cannon, and wounded many of his men as well as himself, so that he was obliged to go to Daman to be cured. Afterwards, in an attempt to burn another village, he was forced to retire with a loss of several of his men and without accomplishing his object. The Viceroy having received information that the Turkish galleys, which the year before plundered Muscat, were again at sea, feared they would make an attempt upon Mozambique, and he accordingly sent two ships to relieve that place. Meanwhile an army of Mughals, with elephants, and other necessaries for a siege, entered the country of Daman, burnt villages, and encamped not far from that city. The Portuguese commander there, Martim Affonso de Mello, having but few men, and the place being but ill prepared to withstand a siege, sent advice to the neighbouring commanders, and to the Viceroy, demanding assistance, and in the course of a few days so many gentlemen went to his assistance that he was able to await events without any apprehension or fear of the enemy. The Mughal general, Calichan by name, seeing the preparations so freely made to resist him, desisted from an attack on Daman, and, withdrawing his army from before that place, overran the whole country, leaving a train of devastation behind him. Arriving at the fort, where Ferdinão de Miranda commanded—who was well known to him—he rode out from the front of his army and challenged Miranda to single combat. The latter recognis-

ing the Mughal general, accepted the challenge, and charging him furiously with his lance well pointed, it pierced through Calichan's armour, wounding his breast, and flew into pieces. Being tied to the saddle, Calichan retained his seat on horseback, but, turning back, retired to his men. After this he broke up his camp and marched away, leaving, however, a garrison to keep possession of one village.

No sooner had the immediate danger of the expected attack on Daman been removed than the Portuguese garrison began to quarrel amongst themselves, in consequence of Martim Affonso de Mello having imprisoned a soldier, some taking sides with the commander and others with the culprit. To such an extent was this conflict carried that de Mello's army became completely demoralised, and might have fallen an easy prey to the Mughal's army had it suddenly returned and attacked the place. Fortunately, however, for the Portuguese, Calichan was unaware of the dissensions that prevailed within the city of Daman; but, when these quarrels were at their height, serious alarm from another quarter arose, which brought the party of opposition to their senses, and caused the entire garrison to unite again for mutual defence and protection. Ramana da Rama, King of Sarceta (a place five leagues to the north of Daman), who was a friend to the Portuguese, had, upon their recent emergency, undertaken the safe custody of the women and children; these, however, were possessed of no inconsiderable amount of jewellery and other valuables, which excited the covetousness of Ramana, and these he endeavoured to retain for himself, refusing to restore them when he gave up charge of the women and children. This breach of faith greatly incensed the Portuguese, who determined to regain possession of their property by force should other means fail. An expedition was accordingly formed for this purpose, and Martim Affonso de Mello, accompanied by Ferdinão de Miranda, marched towards him with 800 Portuguese, of whom 140 were horse,

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400 musketeers, and 1,000 native troops. As soon as this force arrived in sight of the city Raumalaje, the King sent a messenger to de Mello to say that he would restore all, provided the Portuguese proceeded no farther. De Mello, however, believing that the King was not sincere, and that this message was only intended to delude him and cause him to retire, treated it with the consideration he thought it deserved, and continued his march on Sarceta. Seeing that de Mello took no heed of his request, the King became greatly alarmed, and he fled from the city, accompanied by his Queen, mounted on elephants, with all their jewels and valuables. The inhabitants being thus deserted, speedily followed, and they all retired to a neighbouring mountain overlooking the city, from whence they could see the Portuguese force enter unopposed. Having plundered the city, de Mello gave orders for it to be burnt, after which he ravaged the surrounding country with his troops, who destroyed everything that came in their way. Exasperated at the loss of their property, the people of Sarceta made a few feeble attacks upon the Portuguese quarters, but they were easily repulsed. Ultimately, however, the King came in person, with a good number of men, and made an organised attack on de Mello's troops, who, for a time, had some difficulty in maintaining their position. Ultimately, however, the King's troops were defeated, and forced to retire in some disorder, whereupon they were followed by the Portuguese, and their retreat was turned into a rout. Seeing his army completely beaten, the King had no alternative but to submit, and to make entire restitution of all that had been demanded; and this he accordingly did, whereupon de Mello withdrew his troops and retired.

Trouble was again in store for the Portuguese in Ceylon. Raja Singha, who had succeeded his father, Maaya Dunnai, as Chief of Sitawacca and Rayagam, now proceeded to develop his designs for concentrating in his person supreme authority over the other petty kingdoms of Ceylon.

He had put to death every troublesome aspirant of the royal line; he had murdered his father and his brothers, in order to clear his own way to the throne; and he had also directed his arms against every chief who had been hostile, or even neutral, during his struggles with the King of Cotta. In the course of a few years he made himself virtually master of the interior, and, in 1582, he seized upon the territory of Kandy, and drove Jaya-weira, its King, into exile. The latter, with his Queen and children, fled for safety to the Portuguese fort at Manar, where he and his daughter became Christians: she was baptised with the name of Donna Catharina, and he under that of Dom Philip, in honour of Philip II. On her father's decease, Donna Catharina was left a ward of the Portuguese.

Being unable to retain possession of the Kandyan country, in consequence of the extent of the military operations in which he was then engaged, Raja Singha adopted the precaution of disarming the people, and he then concentrated his attention on preparations for the siege of Colombo. But upon information reaching Goa of Raja Singha's intentions, the Viceroy sent a fleet of five sail with reinforcements to the relief of that place, whereupon Raja Singha relinquished his hostile intentions for the time, and João Correa de Brito, commander of the fort there, thereupon sent back three of the ships, but retained two of them in case further necessity should arise for their assistance.

The Kings of Lara had in former years been paramount to those of Ormuz, but in recent times their positions had become reversed. The reigning King, being now desirous of regaining the former ascendency, resolved, as a first step, to make himself master of all Mogostam. To this end he equipped a powerful army, and having captured several towns on the mainland, he laid siege to the fortress of Ormuz, and by a close investment prevented any supplies from being taken into that place. The King of

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Ormuz, being thus placed in a position of considerable danger and difficulty, held a conference with the Portuguese commander of the fort, Don Gonçalo de Menezes, at which it was arranged that their united forces should attack and drive off the invaders. The united forces consisted of 3,800 fighting men, of whom 3,000 were provided by the King, whilst Dom Gonçalo contributed 800 Portuguese, and was, besides, accompanied by a very large train of personal attendants. The 800 Portuguese troops were divided into three bodies. They marched to the fort of Xamel, which had been considered impregnable, not so much on account of its construction and armament as of its natural situation. In it were 500 picked men from the army of the Larines. In planting their cannon the Portuguese lost one man killed and several wounded. The fort was bombarded incessantly for twenty days, without, however, producing any appreciable effect. At the expiration of that time the battery was removed to another position over against a bastion near the gate, where it soon made a considerable impression. A breach having been effected, the bastion was assaulted, and captured with the loss of only six men. The Portuguese battery was then removed, and placed on the captured bastion, whence it began playing upon the fortress. During this bombardment the King of Lara died, and his two sons, instead of hastening to the relief of the besieged fort, began quarrelling as to who should succeed to the kingdom. This division led to the natural consequences. The necessities of the garrison of Xamel being entirely neglected in view of the quarrel as to the succession to the throne, the garrison had no alternative but to surrender, and they were permitted to march out with all their baggage. As they were retiring, the Amadises of the army of Ormuz, who had feigned friendship, only to get an opportunity of avenging certain affronts received from them, in the persons of their wives and daughters, suddenly fell upon them, killing 150, and would have destroyed the rest had not the King and

Dom Gonçalo interposed and stopped the slaughter. The King of Ormuz being now in possession of Xamel, put Coiecenadam, with 500 men, into the fort, and then returned to Ormuz, which place, being now relieved from the presence of the enemy, had no difficulty in obtaining abundant supplies of provisions, of which it had been extremely short during the siege.

About the time when these events were taking place in the Persian Gulf, the King of Achin appeared before Malacca with 150 sail, and finding two ships in that river, attacked them with his guns for fifteen days. Dom João de Gama, who commanded there, but whose time of office was about expiring, made such arrangements as he was able with the forces at his disposal for the defence of the place until he was succeeded by Rocque de Mello. The enemy, not being able to make much effect upon the Portuguese vessels with their guns, resolved to burn them, and would most probably have succeeded, had not Bartholomeu Fernandes, a mulatto, with two soldiers, succeeded in diverting from the ships a flaming vessel which had been sent towards them with the intention of setting them on fire. At this juncture Nuno Monteyro arrived from the Strait of Singapore in a galliot, with fifty Portuguese, and boldly engaged the whole Achinese fleet. Owing to the impetuosity of his attack, it is alleged that the entire Achinese fleet gave way at the first onset. Shortly afterwards, however, the largest vessels from that fleet engaged Monteyro's ship and boarded it. A fierce fight ensued, and the Portuguese appeared to be getting the better of the enemy when a spark of fire, falling into his powder, blew up his ship and all on board. The enemy apparently content with this success, then retired, and sailed to the city of Johore, and began to attack it with all their guns. Regale, the King, thereupon sent to Malacca for help, and in reply twelve ships were despatched to his assistance, which entered that port so unexpectedly that, before any resistance could be made, they set on fire

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some of the largest galleys, killing all in them, and presented the King with the head of one of the commanders. This was set up on the shore, and the Achinese were so struck by terror at the suddenness of the attack and with their own losses that they raised the siege of Johore and speedily retired.

After the siege of Daman by the Mughal's troops had been raised, Fernão de Miranda put to sea with a squadron of twenty ships, and meeting with very heavy seas he was obliged to run into the port of Surat for safety. Leaving that port, the fleet fell in with a large ship from Balala, which surrendered without fighting, upon the condition that the lives of the crew should be spared. The men of Miranda's vessels claimed this ship as a prize, and expected that the cargo would be divided among them; but as he refused to admit their claim, the crews of fourteen of his ships mutinied, and after denouncing Miranda for his action in this matter, they pulled down the Portuguese colours and hoisted the black flag. They then proceeded to Daman, where they landed, and, entering the city, committed violent extravagances, throwing the people into a great state of alarm, as they were quite unable to comprehend the meaning of their proceedings. Miranda followed close upon the mutineers, who had decided to kill him as soon as he should land. On his coming ashore with some of his crew, the mutineers rushed upon them with the view of carrying out their murderous intentions. They wounded some of his men, but Miranda himself escaped into the convent of São Francisco. Finding himself placed in a position of extreme difficulty, owing to the rebellion of so many of his men, Miranda at length resolved to comply with their demands, and this being made known to the mutineers they submitted themselves again to his authority, and each man received his share of the booty, which amounted, however, to only ten crowns apiece.

After this, Miranda sailed from Daman with some small

vessels, and captured a ship from Gogo. He then proceeded towards Castelete, where a body of notorious robbers and pirates had established themselves. He appeared before the place unexpectedly, and suddenly attacking the fort, speedily demolished it, after which he burnt the town, and put all the inhabitants to the sword.

It has already been stated that Mathias de Albuquerque had gone in search of some Malabarese pirates and attacked them in the River Kharepatan. He seems to have followed them up, as they took refuge in different places belonging to the Zamorin, on which Albuquerque inflicted severe chastisement whenever they were allowed to harbour themselves. By this means so many of the villages on the coast were destroyed, that the Zamorin at length sued for peace. The duty of arranging terms was entrusted to Mathias de Albuquerque, but being met by incessant delays and evasions, he again adopted hostile measures. He destroyed many of the smaller places on the coast, and bombarded Calicut, Paracale, Capocate, and Chatua, after which he proceeded to Ormuz, of which place he had been appointed Captain, and handed over the command of his squadron to Dom Giles Yanez Mascarenhas, who had come to succeed him, accompanied by a reinforcement of eight ships.

In 1582, Antonio de Mello e Castro left Lisbon with a fleet of five vessels, of which two were forced to return; one was lost on the coast of Zofala, and only two arrived in India. One of the latter, on her return voyage, encountered three or four English vessels.

Dom Hierome de Mascarenhas and Ferdinão de Miranda now joined their forces, and proceeded to the assistance of Manoel de Saldanha, Captain of Bassein, against the King of the Coles, who was greatly oppressing the Camponeses of that neighbourhood. On their way thither they each of them captured two ships from Malabar. On arrival at Bassein they were joined by 100 horse soldiers,

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800 musketeers, and about 1,000 slaves and natives, whilst the King of Sarceta, at the request of the Viceroy, also sent a contingent consisting of 150 horse and 500 foot soldiers. The united forces marched towards Tavar, and in their route passed through Agashi, Manora, and Asserim, arriving at their destination only at the end of fifteen days, during which they had been excessively impeded by the great heat. The city was pleasantly situated on a hill, and overlooking an extensive plain; it contained many beautiful buildings and gardens, and on their arrival it was found completely deserted, the King and inhabitants having all fled from the place. It was thereupon burnt, together with many neighbouring villages, whilst the country-people and all the cattle found were carried away as spoils of war. The invading army then advanced, and passing through a narrow gorge, where they could only proceed in single file, the King of the Coles, with 6,000 men, fell upon their rear, whilst others attacked them from the hill-tops. Each man had now to fight for himself, since in so narrow a pàss any concerted action was impossible; and in this strait none distinguished himself more than the King of Sarceta, who, sword in hand, was always to be found in the place of greatest danger cheering on his men, and encouraging them by his own example. After a severe and prolonged struggle, the allied forces beat back the enemy, and the King of the Coles, finding his army completely defeated, was forced to sue for peace, and to accept such terms as Manoel de Saldanha chose to dictate.

Dom Giles Yanez Mascarenhas, who had now the command of the fleet appointed to cruise off the coast of Malabar, followed very much in the steps of his predecessor, and committed great havoc amongst all the seaport towns. He twice set fire to Calicut, Ponani, Calegate, Marate, Conche, and the island Daruti, slaughtering at the same time a large number of the inhabitants. Mascarenhas next sailed to the River Kunhale, and

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captured a pirate vessel he found there, in which undertaking Tavora, who commanded one of the Portuguese ships, had his leg shot off by a cannon-ball, of which wound he died. Six Portuguese were captured by the enemy, of whom one was carried to Kunhale the pirate, who cut him in two with one blow of the sword. The King of Chale was constrained to pay tribute to the Portuguese, and assigned them a site and furnished men and materials for the erection of a fort there. On his way thence to Goa, Mascarenhas burnt the villages of Aselanor, in the River Sal, and those of Cuenti, in Salsette.

Barcelor, a city on the coast of Canara, had formerly been one of the most noted places of trade on that coast, but its commerce had fallen off considerably since the establishment of a fort there by the Portuguese. The people of that place, seeing that the Portuguese commander, Francisco de Mello e Sampayo, gave his attention almost exclusively to the accumulation of wealth for himself, and to amusement, determined to get rid of him and all the Portuguese, and to kill them on the approaching occasion of their presence at a religious procession on Maundy-Thursday. There can be little doubt but that they would have carried out their resolution had not Giles Yanez put in there with his squadron, on his way to Goa, just at that time. His presence prevented the perpetration of this atrocity on the appointed day. Giles Yanez, however, left on the following day (Friday), and the conspirators thereupon prevailed upon some Christians to let them into the fort on Easter night. Their design was, however, discovered, and the leaders of the conspiracy were quartered. It was next resolved to make an open attack upon the town, and having induced the King of Tolar to join them with 5,000 men, they burnt the outer town. André Furtado was speedily sent by the Viceroy to the relief of the fort, and, having defeated the enemy, he proceeded up the river, destroying all the villages on its banks.

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During the time that Dom Antonio de Noronha was Viceroy of India several members of the body of Jesuits went to the island of Salsette, and entered upon a campaign for the conversion of the heathen in those parts; but as the people refused to accept their teachings, the Viceroy, with the view of compelling them to resign their own religion, adopted the extreme measure of destroying all their pagodas. This was strongly resented by the people, and they, in retaliation, took up arms in the year 1559, and wrecked all the Catholic churches. Having done this, they refused to pay any more tribute to the Portuguese, and endeavoured to free themselves from the presence of the Catholic priests by commencing a system of persecution against them. Friar Rodulphus de Aquavina, who had gone to preach in the villages of Cocolii, was set upon by the people, who first cut off his legs, and then his head. Friar Francisco Aranna, who accompanied him, was first pierced through with a spear, and then stuck full of arrows; whilst his other companions were all slain in various manners. In retaliation for these murders, the Viceroy sent Gomez Yanez de Figueyredo, the commander of Rachol, to punish the people of Salsette, which he effected in a most ruthless manner. He made a promiscuous slaughter of the inhabitants, destroyed their dwellings, and levelled to the ground every temple in the neighbourhood. Having discovered the leaders amongst those who had killed the Friars, he made such horrible examples of them that many of the natives fled in terror from the island. After this Figueyredo erected a number of new churches in the land, and set up crosses on the summits of all the hills around. These events occurred in 1583, and shortly afterwards five ships arrived from Portugal, under the command of Antonio de Mello e Castro, who brought with him Friar Vicente de Fonseca, a Dominican, who had come to succeed Friar Henri de Tavora in the archbishopric of Goa.

Sultan Amodifar, the lawful King of Cambay, who had been kept prisoner by the Mughal ever since he had conquered his kingdom, at this time managed to escape by the aid of some women, and, disguising himself, he went to a Bancane at Cambayete, by whom he was conveyed to Yambo. With the aid of this Bancane he succeeded in raising an army, comprising above 30,000 horse, with which he returned to Cambay, and succeeded in recovering the greater part of his kingdom. The Viceroy, taking advantage of all the confusion that subsequently ensued, and hoping now to gain possession of Surat, went with a fleet of forty sail to Chaul, and from thence dispatched some emissaries to Broach, which was then being besieged by Amodifar. Within the town were the widow and children of Cotubidi Khan, whom Amodifar had slain there. These emissaries had orders to treat both with the King and with the widow of Cotubidi Khan without letting either know that negotiations were, at the same time, being carried on with the other, so that the Portuguese might be able to secure the interests in their favour of whichever party might ultimately prevail in power. The Mughal, however, arrived shortly with a large army, and having recovered all he had lost, put a stop to the Viceroy's negotiations, and he thereupon returned to Goa.

Whilst the Viceroy had been absent from Goa, many of the principal subjects of the Adil Khan, provoked by the insolence of Larva Khan, his favourite, determined to set up Cufo Khan, the son of Meale Khan, as King in his stead. Cufo was at this time at Goa, where he was retained in safe keeping by the Portuguese as a check against the Adil Khan. The conspirators, having succeeded in establishing a communication with him, contrived to get him out. Larva Khan, becoming aware of these proceedings, pretended to act in concert with the conspirators, and, having bribed the guards, succeeded in procuring the liberty of Cufo Khan, by means of the

CHAP. II. A.D. 1583-84. treachery of a Portuguese, Diogo Lopez Bayam, who had been employed by the King for similar services on previous occasions. Cofu Khan, on his escape, fully expected to be raised to the throne, but he fell instead into the hands of Larva Khan, who caused his eyes to be put out. The Zamorin, tired out at last by the destruction caused by the Portuguese to his country, and urged on by the demands of his subjects to put a stop to the losses they had suffered thereby, at last sued for peace, which, however, he was forced to accept on such terms as the Portuguese Viceroy chose to dictate.

The King of Cochin, having assigned over all the Customs of his territories to the Portuguese, caused thereby great discontent to his people, who, feeling themselves robbed of their just rights, banded themselves together to the number of 20,000, swearing to die in defence of their liberties, whereupon Dom Jorge de Menezes Baroche, who commanded there, not feeling himself in a position to resist their demands, made a virtue of necessity, and suspended for the present the execution of the Viceroy's orders on the subject to enforce the fulfilment of that agreement. As a precautionary measure, however, Dom Giles Yanez Mascarenhas was sent to Cochin to endeavour to suppress the tumult, with orders to destroy by the way there a fort which the Naik of Sanguicer had erected on the river of that name, the object of which was, it was believed, nothing else than for the protection of the pirates who infested these parts and did great damage to the Portuguese trade. Dom Giles had with him a fleet of fourteen sail and 300 men of Goa. With this force he ran up the river, but going out of his galleon into a small vessel, he ran so far between the rocks that he could not get out again. He was immediately attacked by the enemy on shore, and being unable himself to retreat, or the rest of his force to send him assistance, he was killed, and the expedition thereupon retired.

Diogo de Azambuja, Commander of Tidore, was about

this time driven to great straits because he had received no relief from Malacca; Fernão Ortiz de Tavora, who had prepared an expedition for his assistance, having been stopped by the arrival of the King of Achin with a fleet before that city. Upon the strength of information received from Santiago de Vera, Governor of the Philippine Islands, that King Philip had been proclaimed King in Portugal, Diogo de Azambuja demanded help from him, and he accordingly sent ten vessels under the command of Dom João Ronquillo.

About this time the Grand Turk sent Mohamed Bashaw with 12,000 horse, many foot soldiers, and a large artillery, accompanied by a plentiful supply of money, to secure his late conquests in Persia. This force met with a decisive defeat. Soon afterwards, however, that country was exposed to great danger owing to the intrigues of certain persons who persuaded the Shah that his son Abbas Mirsa had risen up in rebellion against him. The former advanced with a large army to bring his son to subjection. Taking advantage of this internal dissension, the Grand Turk sent another army of 100,000 horsemen under the command of Bashaw Ferabat, to conquer the province of Raviam. The Shah, however, having ascertained that he had been deceived, took summary vengeance upon his informants, and speedily became reconciled with his son. The army of the Grand Turk had already done much harm in Raviam, but on learning that the disturbances in the country had now ceased, the commander retired, and withdrew his troops again to his own country.

Dom Duarte de Menezes, who had been appointed to succeed Dom Francisco Mascarenhas as Viceroy, left Lisbon in the spring of 1584 with a fleet of five sail, one of which was lost on the voyage. On his arrival in India, Dom Francisco at once delivered up the sword of office, which he had held for the space of three years, and returned to Lisbon with the next homeward-bound fleet.

CHAPTER III.

Expedition against the Naik of Sanguicer—Expedition against Ternate—Expedition by a Turkish Force against Tauris, in Persia—Incursion of Caffres into the Portuguese Territory of Mozambique—Capture of Verara by the Mughal—Weakness of Dom Duarte de Menezes—Expedition against Ponani—Erection of a Fort there—Defeat of Portuguese by the Niquilus—Capture of Portuguese Vessels by a Turkish ship—Capture of Gamar by the Turks—War between Tidore and Ternate—Amicable Agreement between the Portuguese and King of Ternate—Murder of the King of Ternate—Defeat of a Portuguese Fleet by one of Johore—Defeat of the King of Angola—Suspension of Diplomatic Relations between England and Spain—Capture of the "San Filippe" carrack by Sir Francis Drake—Capture of the "Madre de Dios"—Portuguese Expedition to East Africa—Erection of a Portuguese Fort at Muscat—Hostilities by neighbouring Chiefs against Malacca—Insurrection at Achin—Attack on Malacca by the King of Johore—Unsuccessful Attack by the Portuguese on Johore—Subsequent Capture of the place—Attack by Raja Singha on Colombo—Death of the Viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes.

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The first matter to which Dom Duarte de Menezes turned his attention was the pacification of the people at Cochin, and to this end he appointed commissioners to enquire into the matter of the Customs Duties with the leading men of that city. At the conclusion of these negotiations Dom Duarte himself proceeded to Cochin, where he made a satisfactory settlement of the matter, in which he conceded generally all the demands of the people.

The Viceroy, having returned to Goa, received an ambassador from the Adil Khan, with whom he entered into negotiations with the view of sending a joint expedition against the Naik of Sanguicer, to punish him for causing the death of Dom Giles Yanez, and to put down the piracy that existed on that coast. It was agreed that Rosti Khan, Governor of Ponda, should assist with 40,000

men by land, whilst Dom Hierome de Mascarenhas should attack the Naik by sea. These arrangements were accordingly carried out; Dom Hierome entering the river with his ships, sent up a party of men in thirteen rowing-boats, who at break of day came upon some works thrown up for defence. A force was landed which attacked the enemy, and having killed many of them the rest fled, and the Portuguese then captured their defences, and took all the cannon out of them. They then marched upon the town, whereupon the inhabitants fled without making any attempt at defence. In their flight they fell into the hands of Rosti Khan, who was advancing upon the town from the opposite direction. The two forces then laid waste the whole country, whereupon the Naik, who had fled to the woods for safety, sent an ambassador to implore mercy, promising to submit to any conditions, provided he were restored to his power, and his territories spared. Arrangments to this effect were accordingly concluded, and the invading armies then retired.

Diogo de Azambuja, Commander of Tidore, being greatly in want of ammunition, the Governor of Manilla sent four barques to his relief, commanded by Pedro Sarmiento, who on his way took possession of the island Mousel. The King of Ternate, to whom the island belonged, resolved to avenge himself on three barques that had gone for provisions to Batjan, sent his brother, Cachil Julo, with twenty-four galliots to take them. An indecisive engagement ensued, in which the Ternatenses lost 200 men, and the Spaniards eight. After a desperate encounter night separated the combatants, and the fight was not afterwards renewed.

About this time (1584) Duarte Pereira arrived with one galleon at Tidore, to succeed Azambuja as Governor there. The latter, however, refused to give up his office, and the strife on this point ran so high that Azambuja actually assaulted Pereira in a house where he was with his wife and family, and the quarrel might have been attended

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by serious consequences had not the King interposed, and brought about an accommodation between the two. Soon after the settlement of this quarrel, 400 Spaniards arrived at Tidore from Manilla, to assist Azambuja to recover the fort of Ternate, but he, fearing that in his absence Pereira would take possession of the command, hesitated about undertaking the expedition. Pereira, however, becoming aware of the cause of his hesitation, impressed upon Azambuja that the opportunity for carrying out such an important enterprise ought not to be lost; Pereira therefore promised that if Azambuja would embark upon this undertaking he would willingly accompany him. Being reassured by this arrangement, Azambuja at length set out, accompanied by the Kings of Tidore, Batjan, and Celebes. The combined forces landed at Ternate in the face of some slight opposition, and having bombarded the fort for some time without effect, in which they lost some men, they re-embarked and returned to Tidore, without having attained any practical results.

The city Tauris, on the borders of Armenia, at the foot of the mountain Orote, had once been the Court of the Kings of Persia, and was, at the period now referred to, one of the most famous places of trade in the East. The Grand Turk wishing to raise a fort there, sent Osman Bashaw with a powerful army, who encamped before it on the banks of a river. The Persian Emperor opposed his design with a force of 70,000 horse, and having placed his son Mirazen Mirsa in ambush with 10,000 men, he sent a party to attack the Turkish army, who, being drawn on by the small force opposed to them, were suddenly attacked by Mirazen Mirsa, who slew 7,000 of the enemy. The Turkish army having rallied again, pursued Mirsa's troops, from whom, however, they again received a check, and lost a large number of men.

The next day the Turks assaulted the city, but were repulsed with a further loss of about 7,000 men. After this the Governor, thinking that the enemy would not

again attack the city, withdrew his forces, but the former shortly returned, and although the inhabitants defended themselves bravely, they were ultimately overpowered, and the enemy, gaining an entrance, put great numbers to the sword, sparing neither women nor children.

Having thus obtained possession of the city of Tauris, Osman, in the course of one month, completed the erection of a strong fort in the Royal Gardens. Some of the Turks, frequenting the baths in that city, having quarrelled with some of the inhabitants, in which they came off only second best, stirred up the whole army to revenge. Being excited with rage, the Turks perpetrated every kind of atrocity upon the defenceless people, and murdered, ravished, and robbed indiscriminately. Finally they retired from the place, carrying away with them a vast quantity of treasure. The Prince of Persia now returned with a force of 20,000 horse, and falling upon the Turks as they retired, killed altogether about 28,000 men. The latter decamped, but the Prince, continuing to follow them up, again attacked them, killing large numbers more, and entirely defeating them. He then plundered their camp, and returned with 18,000 camels loaded with riches, besides a large quantity of arms and ammunition. Not content with this victory, the Prince again pursued the enemy, but this time he sustained a check, and was forced to retire with the loss of 3,000 men.

About the year 1570 there occurred a very large incursion of Caffres into the Portuguese territory of Mozambique. These were said to have come from the neighbourhood of a large lake, in the Monomotapa territory. In their passage through the intervening country they laid waste all the villages through which they passed, leaving nothing but ruin behind, and, being cannibals, they feasted on the flesh of the inhabitants, marking their line of route by the whitened bones of their victims. Hierome de Andrade sent out an armed force from the Castle of Tete to arrest their progress in that direction, and, having come up with

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the cannibals, he poured in upon them volleys of musketry, killing considerable numbers. They, never having before seen firearms, fled precipitately towards Mozambique, and established themselves in a fort about two leagues from that place, whence they seriously menaced the fort of Kuama, where the Portuguese were established. Accordingly, the commander there, Nuno Vello Pereira, sent out a force under Antonio Rodrigues Pimentel with 400 men—of whom, however, only four were Portuguese —who, unexpectedly falling upon the Caffres, slew a large number and burnt their fort. The Portuguese, thinking they had crushed their enemies, retired carelessly and in disorder, whereupon the Caffres fell upon them in vast numbers, and, being taken unawares, Antonio Rodrigues and most of his men were slain, only three Portuguese and a few blacks escaping from the general slaughter.

Internal disturbances now threatened the independence of the Nizamaluco in Canara, whereupon the Mughal, coming with an army, entered the kingdom of Verara, and having plundered and destroyed certain towns and cities, added them to his territories.

In the spring of the year 1585 Ferdinão Mendoça sailed from Lisbon with five ships, one of which was lost beyond the Cape of Good Hope, at a place called "Bajos de la India," by running on to a coral reef. Most of the crew were drowned, but the captain and a few men who accompanied him in a boat arrived after six days at Quilimane. The other four ships arrived safely at Goa.

Although Dom Duarte de Menezes nominally governed India, he appears to have allowed himself to be overruled in many matters by his uncle, Ruy Gonçalves de Camara. Amongst other things he induced his nephew to entrust him with the command of two expeditions which it had been determined to send out; the one being the dispatch of a squadron to the Red Sea against a fleet of Turkish galleys which, it had been reported, was about to set out from Mocha; and the other, the erection of a fort at

Ponani, in Malabar. Ruy Gonçalves determined to undertake the latter expedition first, and accordingly proceeded to Ponani, whence he dispatched a message to the Zamorin, informing him of the object of his visit, and requesting that he would meet him with the view of selecting a suitable site. The Zamorin kept Ruy Gonçalvez waiting for some time on the plea that his Brahmans were unable to fix upon an auspicious day, whereupon Gonçalves sent them some presents, and they then speedily named a favourable hour for the purpose. A site having been determined upon, a permanent structure should have been erected, but Gonçalves, being in a hurry to depart, erected only a fort of wood, the command of which he gave to Ruy Gomez de Gram. No sooner, however, had Ruy Gonçalves left than Ruy Gomez pulled down the wooden fortress and erected one of stone of considerable strength.

After this, Ruy Gonçalves proceeded to the Red Sea with a fleet consisting of four galleys, two galleons, and twenty other vessels, and came to an anchor in a bay on the coast of Arabia, eleven leagues from the city of Mocha. There some of his ships separated from him. He sent an officer and sixty men on shore to take in water, but they were attacked by an overwhelming force of Turkish horse and foot, who fell upon them from an ambush and killed five or six of their number, but the remainder succeeded in reaching the ships. After this Ruy Gonçalves sailed to Ormuz without having met with the Turkish fleet, or having accomplished anything in the Red Sea. It was indeed alleged that the report concerning the Turkish galleys was an invention for the purpose of giving Ruy Gonçalves some occupation, and probably also of relieving the Viceroy of his presence.

Having obtained a reinforcement of five vessels from Ormuz, Ruy Gonçalves sent Pedro Homem Pereira with twenty sail and 600 men to chastise the Niquilus, who had obstructed the conveyance of provisions into Ormuz. A

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force having been landed, the enemy, who were in ambush, suddenly rushed upon the Portuguese with such force that, breaking through their rank, they threw them into confusion and slew 250. The remainder of the attacking force were driven into the sea, and had to reach their ships by swimming, in attempting which many of them were drowned. In this expedition the Portuguese sustained a crushing defeat, but notwithstanding his failure, Ruy Gonçalves, on returning to Goa, was received with as great demonstrations by the Viceroy as though he had returned a conqueror, and was rewarded with favours he had done nothing to deserve.

After the departure of Ruy Gonçalves from the Red Sea, two unseaworthy galleys set out from Mocha, one of which was so rotten that she sank immediately after leaving the port. The other, being commanded by a bold and adventurous Moor named Mir Alibet, appeared before the city of Magadano, and, having informed the inhabitants that he was being followed by a great fleet which had been sent to conquer all the coast of Melinde, it submitted without resistance. At Lusiva and Pate, Mir Alibet captured some Portuguese ships, which also appear to have been surrendered at once, and by the time he had arrived at the latter place Mir Alibet had added twenty pangayos, or small vessels, to his force, and with these he reduced to submission to the Turkish power the Kings of Ampaza, Patta, Lamu, Mombassa, Kilefi, Barawa, Jugo, and other places. On arrival at Marka the vessel with which Mir Alibet had embarked on this enterprise was in such a condition that she foundered in calm weather and a still sea.

The Grand Turk, having recently erected a fort at Tabris, in Persia, contemplated also the erection of another at Gonsar. In order to effect this, and at the same time to reinforce Tabris, he sent Bashaw Ferat with 160,000 horsemen. The preparations for this expedition having come to the knowledge of the Shah, he sent

Homali Khan, Governor of Gonsar, to invite the Georgians, his neighbours, to come to his assistance. At the same time the Shah dispatched the Prince (of Persia) with 20,000 horse to secure Gonsar, while he, with the rest of his army, besieged the Turks in Tabris, and reduced them to the last extremities. The Prince of Persia, being enamoured of the daughter of the Governor of Gonsar—who was then absent—seduced her, whereupon her brother bribed the Prince's barber to cut his throat as he shaved him, which he accordingly did, but he was himself at once killed by the Prince's attendants.

The death of the Prince of Persia threw the whole Empire into a state of consternation, and so affected all their military arrangements that the Turks experienced now but little opposition to their designs. They succeeded in relieving Tabris, and, the Persian army having retired also from Gonsar, they took possession of the place and erected a fort there, the command of which was given to Chedar Bashaw, a Portuguese by birth.

In the Moluccas Islands the Kings of Tidore and Ternate were at war because the former refused to allow the latter to marry his sister. At that time Nicolau de Brito arrived in those parts with one galleon from Malacca, with orders to treat with the King of Ternate, with the view of the fort in that island being restored to the Portuguese. He was the bearer of letters for that King from King Philip and from the Viceroy, and also of a present. The conditions attached to the latter were, however, rather calculated to give offence to His Majesty, for, although of small value, it was not to be given him unless he complied with the request that was to be made of him. Before the King of Ternate knew of this condition he agreed to the demand of the Portuguese, and had also made peace with the King of Tidore. Subsequently, however, he became acquainted with the conditional nature of the present sent, whereat he became so incensed with rage that he gave orders no Portuguese should

CHAP. III. A.D. 1585-86 henceforth enter the city unless they came barefooted. Duarte Pereira, however, having now arrived from Manilla to succeed Diogo de Azambuja in the command at these parts, managed to conclude an amicable agreement with the King of Ternate. In this, however, the King was no doubt to some extent influenced by the fact that he had usurped the throne from his uncle, Mandra Shah, who was the rightful claimant, and opposition on his part might have induced the Portuguese to make terms with the latter on condition of their aiding him to recover his rights. The King subsequently being anxious to rid himself of a dangerous rival, first persuaded his uncle to abduct the King's sister, whose hand had already been promised to the King of Tidore, and subsequently condemned him to perpetual banishment for having done so. He afterwards had his uncle murdered, and then gave his sister in marriage to the King of Gilolo. This last act so enraged the King of Tidore that he concerted the death of the King of Ternate with Duarte Pereira, and they set up his uncle, Cachil Tulo, on the throne in his stead.

Rajale, the King of Johore, being dissatisfied with the compensation that had been made to him on account of a vessel of his that had been sunk at Malacca, prevented the supply of provisions to that city, whereupon Dom Hierome de Azevedo sent Pedro Vello with eight ships to burn a town near Johore. This he accomplished, but on returning was met by the enemy's fleet, whereupon an engagement ensued, in which Pedro Vello was badly beaten, and lost four vessels. He would probably have lost his entire fleet had not Pedro de Cuma Carneyro arrived with a galleon, and assisted him to escape with his remaining vessels. Rajale, flushed with his victory over Pedro Vello, now sent a fleet of 100 sail to attack Malacca, but this venture cost him dear, for he was forced to retire with the loss of a great part of his vessels.

During this year, 1586, Paul Diaz, who was at Angola,

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was attacked by the King of that place, who brought against him an immense force, calculated to number about 600,000 men. To oppose this vast host he had under his command little more than 100 Portuguese and a number of black troops, but so well did he conduct the defence, and so bravely did those under his command behave themselves in the face of such overwhelming odds, that the enemy was forced to retire. This victory, which reflected so much credit upon all who had taken part in it, added in no small degree to the military reputation of the Portuguese in those parts.

The strained relations between England and Spain, which arose after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the English throne, led ultimately to a suspension of diplomatic relations in 1584; and the assistance given by Elizabeth to the Netherlands, in their revolt against Spanish dominion, further aggravated the bad relations between the two countries, so that war became, sooner or later, inevitable. The great preparations for the Spanish Armada, which was directed against England, fully justified the naval hostilities against Spain and her foreign possessions by Sir Francis Drake and others during the immediately succeeding years, of which accounts are given in the following pages.

At the beginning of the year 1586, six ships sailed from Lisbon for India, under the command of Dom Hierome Coutinho, who carried with him orders for the establishment of a Court of Chancery at Goa. On the way out, one of the Portuguese vessels had a sharp engagement with two English ships, in about one and a half degree of north latitude, which, however, does not appear to have been attended with any serious consequences to either side. Two of the vessels that composed this fleet were lost, but the men and cargoes were saved. Another ship, a large carrack, named the "San Filippe," would seem to have returned to Europe at once with a valuable cargo, and was on its way back to Lisbon, when

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in December, 1587, it fell in with Sir Francis Drake's fleet of nine ships in the neighbourhood of the Azores, about twenty or thirty leagues from the island of Saint Michael. The captain, Vendo João Trigueiros, being unable to escape, resolved to fight the English fleet, but, as might have been expected, the engagement did not last long, and the ship was easily taken. The captain and crew were put into a galleon with an abundance of provisions, and allowed to return to Lisbon. Sir Francis Drake then proceeded to Plymouth with his prize, which was so richly laden with merchandise from the East that it yielded a large amount of prize-money to all the crews of Sir Francis Drake's fleet, the total value of the cargo amounting to no less a sum than £108,049. Two important results to the English followed from this capture; the first being that it taught them the Portuguese carracks were not such powerful vessels as had apparently been supposed, and that the strength of the Portuguese in India was not so great as had hitherto been imagined; and, secondly, it acquainted them more generally with the particulars of the great riches and wealth of the East Indies, whereby they were encouraged to adopt measures for sharing with the Portuguese that wealth the latter had so long enjoyed from the monopoly of the Indian trade. Particulars of this capture speedily reached Holland, and greatly influenced the Dutch also to participate in the benefits to be derived from that commerce.

The "San Filippe" was the first large vessel of that class that had returned from India, and, as it also bore the King's name, its loss was looked upon as an evil omen by the Portuguese. On board this vessel was the Archbishop of Goa, Friar Vicente, who had left India because he could no longer bear with the behaviour of the Viceroy, his Ministers, or even with the priests there. He was on his way to Europe, intending to acquaint the King and the Pope with the unsatisfactory state of affairs in that country, but unfortunately died on the way home.

On the 4th April, 1589, a fleet of five vessels left Lisbon for India, under the command of Captain Bernardino Ribeiro Pacheco. Four of these ships started on their homeward voyage on the 10th January, 1590. The "Bom Jesus," in which was the Governor, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, was lost at the entrance to Mozambique with all on board; another of the vessels, the "S. Bartholomeu," was never more heard of, whilst the other two vessels continued their journey as far as the Azores. Of these, the "Santa Cruz" was leading, and Sir John Burrough, who was in the neighbourhood with a fleet of seven vessels, caught sight of that ship off the Isle of Flores, and gave chase, whereupon the captain ran his ship on shore, and set it on fire, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the English. A little while after, on the 3rd August, Captain Thomson, in the "Dainty," caught sight of the other Portuguese vessel, named the "Madre de Dios," which was one of the biggest ships belonging to the Crown of Portugal. The "Dainty," being a fast sailer, got the start of the rest of the fleet, and began the conflict single-handed, in which she received some damage and loss. Shortly, however, Sir John Burrough, in the "Roebuck," came up to his assistance, and the fight was continued within musket-shot distance, until Sir R. Crosse arrived in the "Foresight," whereupon it was determined to grapple the Portuguese ship. Accordingly Sir John Burrough fastened on to her on the one side, and Sir R. Crosse on the other; but, after awhile, the "Roebuck" received a shot below water-line, and was beginning to sink, whereupon she cast loose, and Sir R. Crosse did the same, but both vessels were so entangled that it was as much as either could do to get clear. In the evening Sir R. Crosse, seeing that the "Madre de Dios" was drawing near the island, and not wishing to lose her in the same manner as the "Santa Cruz," persuaded his company to board her, which they did, and sustained a fight single-handed until two of Lord Cumberland's ships came up, and with

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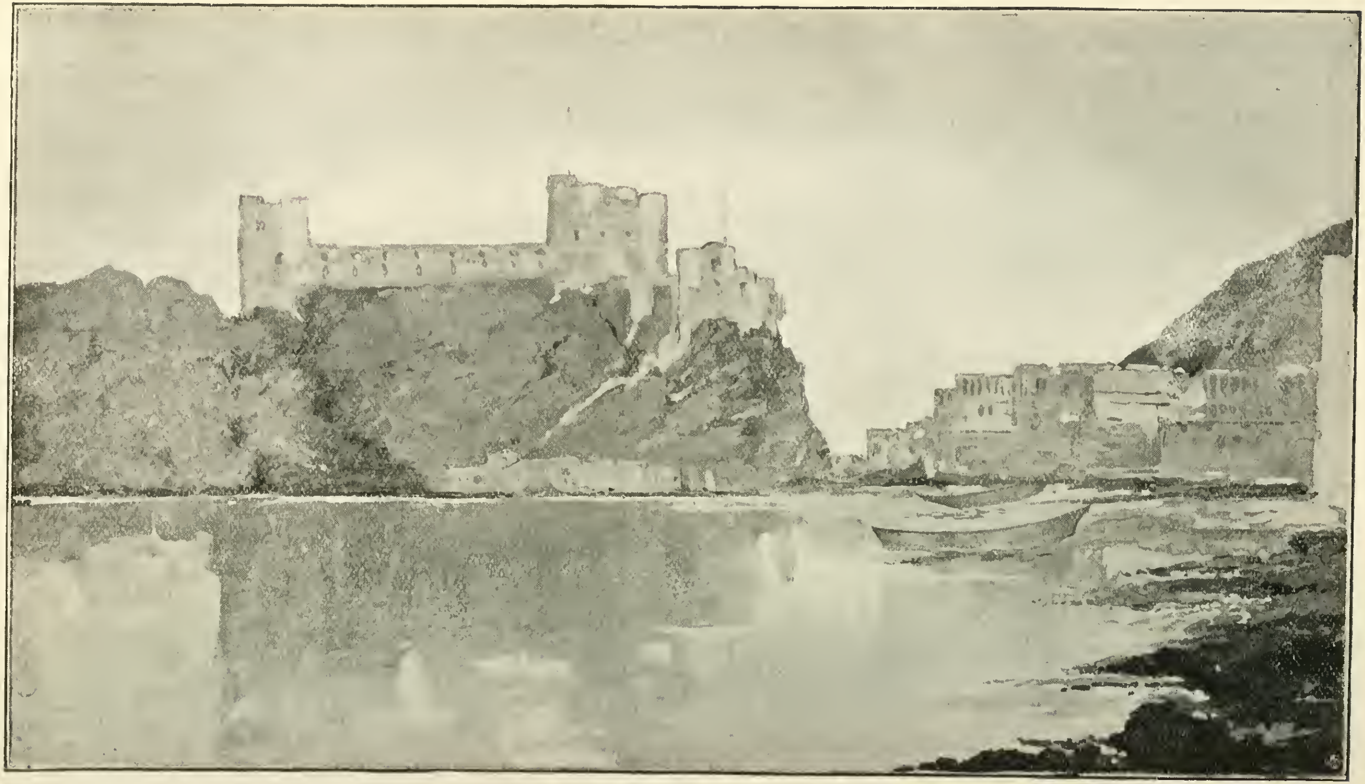
this assistance the "Madre de Dios"* was now easily taken.

The vessel was taken to Dartmouth, and her cargo, exclusive of certain jewels, "which never came to light," was at a moderate rate estimated to be worth £150,000, "which being divided among the adventurers (whereof Her Majesty was the chiefe) was sufficient to yield contentment to all parties."

The King of Melinde, who had always remained faithful to the Portuguese since their first negotiation with him, now sent to inform the Viceroy that what Mir Alibet had done with the galley off Mocha could not fail to prove very prejudical to the affairs of Portugal on that coast, and advised him, at the same time, that this action on the part of the Turks was indeed but a first step in their design to obtain possession of the mines of Zofala and Kuama. He also gave him the further information that the King of Mombassa had already given permission for the Turks to raise a fort there. It was thus very clear that if the Portuguese were to retain their position in those parts no time was to be lost, and the Viceroy accordingly ordered the immediate preparation of a fleet of eighteen sail to stop the further progress of the Turks in Eastern Africa. The command of this expedition was entrusted to Martim Affonso de Mello Pombeyro, who made no delay in proceeding to his destination. On arrival off the coast of Africa he anchored first in the port of Ampaza, that being the first place that had submitted to the Turks, and the King thereof, relying upon the strength of his fortifications and upon the fact that he had 4,000 armed men at his command, had further incurred the hostility of the Portuguese by having João Robela executed because he refused to renounce the Christian faith. The Portuguese forces being landed, they attacked the town in two bodies; one of these

* There was another vessel named the "Madre de Dios" afterwards built by the Portuguese at Bassein. This vessel started for Lisbon in January, 1595, and was lost off Socotra



THE FORT OF MUSCAT.

From a painting by Captain Arthur W. Stiffe, late R.I.M., specially lent for this Work.

met with considerable opposition, but succeeded ultimately in defeating their opponents, and in the engagement the King of Ampaza was killed. The enemy being driven back, the two parties united and entered the town, sparing neither women nor children. They then burnt the town, together with all the vessels in the port, and spent ten days in laying all the surrounding country waste. In this enterprise the Portuguese lost only four men.

The King of Pate (? Patta), seeing what destruction the Portuguese had wrought at Ampaza, at once submitted, but the King of Lusiva fled away to the mountains, whereupon Martim Pombeyro bestowed his kingdom upon a former Queen, who had been deposed by the King, and had now come to plead her right. The King of Mombassa at first seemed as though he would oppose the Portuguese, for which purpose he had got together a force of 7,000 men. On the approach, however, of their fleet, he fled from the island, and beheld from a distance the destruction of his city by fire. Having thus punished, or reduced to submission, the principal ones amongst those who had acknowledged the Turkish rule, Pombeyro set sail for Ormuz, whence he sent dispatches to the King of Spain advising His Majesty of his success. Here Pombeyro died, whereupon the further duties with which he had been entrusted, viz., the erection of a fort at Muscat, were carried out by his successor in the command of the fleet.

In the year 1586, the King of Ujantana captured several Portuguese ships, and otherwise hindered the conveyance of provisions into Malacca, whilst at the same time the Manencabos, a neighbouring people, devastated the surrounding country, and prevented the country-people from carrying any supplies into the town, which was thus reduced to the greatest extremities, and numbers were daily dying of starvation. Whilst affairs were in this state, Diogo de Azambuja arrived from the Moluccas, and immediately organised an expedition to relieve the town from the state

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of siege in which he found it. For this purpose he got together a force of 100 Portuguese and 600 Malayans, with which he proceeded against the enemy, and after a tedious march he came upon their entrenched camp at the town of Nam, in front of which place they had an army of 2,000 men drawn up to oppose the further advance of the Portuguese. Dom Manoel de Almaida immediately charged the enemy with half his force, and, driving them out of the field, pursued them into their works, which he then cleared with much slaughter. Thence the Portuguese proceeded to Bombo, where the King of Johore had a fort, the commander of which at once retired on their approach. The inhabitants, however, peacefully submitted, protesting that they had taken no part in the molestation of the Portuguese in Malacca. The King of Achin, seeing that Malacca had now been reduced to great straits, thought the present a favourable opportunity to renew his attack upon that place. To this end he had equipped a fleet of 300 sail, and everything was in readiness to start when the Achinese general Moratiza, who had long been waiting for an opportunity to usurp the throne, murdered the King, together with his Queen and the chief of the nobility. The contemplated expedition was at once abandoned, since Moratiza found it necessary to remain at the seat of government in order to consolidate his authority, and establish himself upon the throne he had so basely acquired.

Malacca was thus relieved from an attack on the part of the Achinese, but Bajale, in revenge for the Portuguese attack on Bombo, dispatched a fleet from his port of Johore of 120 vessels, with 6,000 men, to besiege the town of Malacca. João da Silva, who commanded in the town, and Dom Antonio de Noronha, at sea, made every preparation in their power for an effective defence. The enemy attempted to land in two places, but were driven back to their ships with great loss, many of them being drowned; and, at the same time, the Portuguese ships with their cannon sunk two of the

enemy's vessels. During the attack, João da Silva, the commander of the place, went mad, and the bishop thereupon assumed the command. Whilst the fleet of Johore was being successfully resisted at Malacca, Dom Hierome de Azevedo with his ships met some others that were going to reinforce the King of Johore's fleet, which he engaged and sunk. As soon as the news of this fresh attack on Malacca reached the city of Cochin, reinforcements and supplies were immediately sent to the relief of that place, and money was dispatched to the Viceroy by the people of Bassein, Chaul, and Goa, towards the same end.

The fleet dispatched to the relief of Malacca consisted of two galleys, three galleons, four galliots, and seven other vessels, in which were 500 men, the command of which was given to Dom Paul de Lima. On their way to Malacca they ran short of water, but succeeded in obtaining supplies on the shores of Achin, where they took four ships, killed a number of men, and captured many prisoners, amongst whom was an ambassador sent by Rajale to request the assistance of the Achinese in the attack on Malacca. On leaving Achin, the fleet of Dom Paul de Lima became scattered; some of his vessels joined those commanded by Dom Antonio de Noronha, who, having forced the enemy to retire from before Malacca, had gone to attack them in their own country, and was then lying before Johore. Some of the enemy's vessels came out to attack the Portuguese fleet, but these were speedily driven back, and two of them were captured. Some of Dom Antonio's fleet also attacked the fort of Curitam, and having bombarded it for some time, during which many of the garrison were killed, and the remainder fled, a force was landed which, after carrying away the cannon, set the fort on fire. As the Portuguese retired they fired the suburbs and some shipping, and returned to their fleet with much booty and many prisoners.

The ease and success with which this last enterprise was accomplished induced Don Antonio de Noronha to believe

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that he could as easily capture the city of Johore; and he accordingly determined, although in opposition to the opinions of his captains, to give the assault the following morning with only 200 men, notwithstanding he was aware that there were 12,000 troops within, and every point was defended by cannon. Dom Antonio led the attack in person. It, however, failed, and Dom Antonio would certainly have been killed had not Dom Paul de Lima come to his assistance, and enabled him to make good his retreat to the ships. It was then determined to bombard the place before giving another assault, and this was continued for several days in spite of a diversion attempted by the enemy's fleet.

A second assault was made on the morning of the 15th August, when 600 Portuguese were landed in three parties. Dom Antonio de Noronha, who led one of these parties, landed in the face of a strong opposition by a number of the enemy's musketeers, who rallied several times before they were finally driven back; by mistake, an attempt was then made to force a way into the town, where there was no entrance, in which some of the Portuguese were killed. The other two parties having effected a landing, one of them, led by Dom Paul de Lima, cutting its way through 2,000 of the enemy in a wood, joined Dom Antonio, and they forced their way together into the city, driving the enemy before them. The third party was commanded by Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira, and encountered on landing a body of the enemy led by the King in person, who was mounted on an elephant. Pereira shot this animal, which thereupon turned, and rushing through their ranks, entirely disordered the King's troops. Taking advantage of this, Pereira hurried to join with the remainder of the Portuguese. Some desperate street-fighting here took place, but the Portuguese drove the enemy before them, until they arrived where the King was with his allies. Here a fierce engagement took place, and after six hours' continuous fighting, the fortunes of the day re-

mained still doubtful, until Mathias Pereira, who had only fifteen men left with him out of 150 with which he commenced the day, attacked and entered the Fort Botabato.

During this engagement on shore, Luis Martines Pereira, who had been left in command of the fleet, kept up a continual bombardment until he saw the Portuguese colours flying over the Fort Botabato, whereupon he ceased firing. The King also, about the same time, seeing that Botabato had been taken, and that on all sides his troops were being defeated, mounted with his wives on elephants and fled away inland.

After this victory the city of Johore was burnt, and many women and children, who in the confusion were unable to escape, are said to have perished in the flames. A large amount of booty was taken, together with a number of prisoners. The loss of the enemy is stated to have been nearly 7,000, whilst on the Portuguese side not more than eighty casualties occurred. No less than 2,200 vessels are reported to have been captured, together with nearly 1,000 cannon, some very large, and 1,500 muskets.

The city of Malacca resolved to give Dom Paul de Lima a triumphant reception on his return from Johore. Dom Antonio de Noronha, being jealous that all the glory should be given to Dom Paul, requested that he would allow him to walk by his side on landing, but to this demand Dom Paul replied, "*Gloriam meam alteri non dabo.*" This so angered Dom Antonio and his soldiers that they resolved to anticipate the triumph, and the latter accordingly landed with great demonstration, and with the sound of drums and trumpets, and the firing of cannon, and covering the way with their cloths led Dom Antonio to the church. Dom Paul on his landing was received by the religious orders with their crosses and with singing, and, being placed under a canopy, he was crowned by the Bishop with a garland of roses and other flowers.

At the beginning of the month of August, 1586, Raja Singha again made an attempt to possess himself of the

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fort of Colombo, in Ceylon, for which purpose he gathered together 50,000 fighting men, 60,000 pioneers, together with nearly an equal number of artificers and other labourers; 2,200 elephants, 40,000 oxen, 150 pieces of cannon, 50,000 axes, shovels, pickaxes, and spades, besides an innumerable number of spare arms and tools; two castles carried each upon a huge cart with nine wheels, together with a fleet of nearly 500 vessels. Before embarking upon this enterprise, Raja pretended to consult the idols as to his success, and, having placed men behind them, they answered his enquiries according to instructions previously received, "that if he would enter Colombo he must shed innocent blood." Thereupon, in pretended obedience to the Divine commands, he caused 500 young children to be massacred, and sprinkled the idols with their blood.

Having made this brutal and senseless sacrifice, Raja Singha proceeded to Colombo with his army, and meeting with no opposition by the way, he was enabled deliberately to select the most suitable position in its vicinity for his camp.

João de Brito, who was in command at this time, being informed of the intended attack on the place, made the best arrangements he was able with the limited means at his disposal for a defence. For this purpose he had with him but 300 Portuguese and 700 natives and slaves; of the former one third were, however, useless, they being either old men or children. De Brito stationed his forces to the best advantage he was able at different places along the wall, and reserved fifty men, of whom he assumed the direct command, who were prepared to render assistance anywhere along the line of defence where it might be most needed.

Raja Singha spent a month in draining a lake that protected one side of the town, and he took some boats the Portuguese had upon that water. During this period many skirmishes took place, in which it is claimed by the

Portuguese that the enemy came off with considerable loss. The fort was much weakened, principally by the want of water, but also on account of the side which had been protected by the lake being now exposed to the enemy. De Brito lost no time in sending information to the neighbouring places of the great danger he was in. The first to send him assistance was João de Mello, Commander of Manar, who speedily dispatched to his aid a reinforcement of forty men, under the command of his nephew, Ferdinão de Mello, together with a supply of ammunition. Ferdinão with his men was entrusted with the defence of the side facing the lake. Whilst Raja Singha was preparing for an assault, de Brito made a sortie, and had a skirmish with the enemy, in which he inflicted some loss upon them in men, and advancing into some of their nearest works of attack he completely destroyed them.

On the 4th August, Raja Singha sent forward a force to give the first attack before daylight, which advanced towards the city with so much caution that the sentinels did not hear their approach, whilst the darkness was so great that they would probably not have seen them until too late had not the musketeers lighted some matches, and so discovered their movements. The besiegers erected their ladders against the bastions of S. Michael, S. Gonçalo, and S. Francisco, and rushed up them, whilst 2,000 pioneers were at the same time working below to undermine the wall. The Portuguese garrison hastened to the defence of these bastions, and cast down the assailants as fast as they ascended, whilst the cannon of the several forts swept the ground in front and covered it with the slain. The numbers of the enemy were, however, so great that as each advancing party was repulsed, fresh companies rushed to the assault. João de Brito was present during the attack wherever the danger appeared to be greatest. After a most tedious fight vast numbers of the enemy gave way, leaving 400 dead or dying under the walls. A few

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Cingalese, who had retired within the fort for fear of the tyrant, fought with as much bravery and determination as the Portuguese. Twice after this the assault was renewed, but the enemy was each time repulsed. Raja Singha, however, again made preparations for yet another attack. Antonio de Aguiare Vasconcellos just at this time arrived with a ship, and brought some assistance to the besieged, but on the night of the 20th August the Raja made another general assault on the place both by sea and land, and so pressed were the garrison now with military duty that all the priests and monks in Colombo were obliged to turn soldiers and assist in the defence. This attack met with no greater success than before, and after a large number of the enemy had been killed they were again repulsed on all sides. After this succour began to arrive from various parts. The city of Cochin no sooner learned of the danger in which Colombo was placed than six ships were fitted out with plentiful supplies of men and ammunition, and dispatched thence under the command of Nuno Alvarez de Antouguia. These now arrived at Colombo, and were shortly afterwards followed by Diogo Fernandes Penoa from Negapatam, Ferdinão de Lima and others from S. Thomé, and subsequently, in September, Bernardim de Carvello arrived from Goa with one galley and six ships.

On the advent of these reinforcements, Raja Singha despaired of carrying the place by assault, and accordingly began to undermine the walls. In this he nearly succeeded, but Thomé de Sousa saved the place from that danger by discovering their intentions, whereupon he devised means for destroying the miners at their work. Being foiled in this attempt also, Raja Singha next had recourse to treachery, and under his orders certain of his wizards, counterfeiting discontent, pretended to desert from his forces to the Portuguese. Having entered the town they were to poison the water and bewitch the men; they were, however, suspected, and put to the rack, whereupon

they confessed their intentions, and were forthwith condemned to death by drowning. Others were subsequently sent into Colombo on a similar errand, but they were likewise discovered, and suffered the same penalty.

Treachery having thus failed, Raja Singha again resorted to force, and sent a fleet to attack the Portuguese ships commanded by Thomé de Sousa. Here again he was unsuccessful, for, in the engagement that followed, Thomé de Sousa sunk two of his ships and captured two others, killing most of the men, and hanging the rest at the yardarms. Three hundred of the enemy were killed in this fight, whereas the Portuguese lost only two private men. Raja Singha was greatly enraged at this result, and caused the captains of his fleet to be beheaded because they had not defeated the Portuguese. After this Filippe Carneyro, who had been sent to the relief of Colombo, arrived with a ship laden with ammunition, accompanied by Antonio de Brito and Manoel de Macedo as volunteers. The enemy gave another assault by night with the same success as the former.

Immediately after this, João Cayado de Gamboa also arrived from the Viceroy with a galleon and 150 men many of whom were persons of note, whereupon João de Brito, finding himself now supported by a strong force, determined to assume the offensive, and he accordingly sent out Pero Affonso with a squadron to destroy all he could along the coast. He attacked and plundered the cities of Balicate, Berberi, and Belligam, and accompanied his mission by deeds of signal atrocity, especially towards the women, whose hands and ears the soldiers hacked off in their eagerness to possess themselves of their bracelets and ear-pendants. He also made great havoc in several other places, returning to Colombo in triumph with a great quantity of booty and many prisoners. The barbarities practised by the garrison of Colombo were also of a most atrocious character, and are related in detail by Portuguese historians without comment or con-

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demnation. Sickness now threatened to bring about what Raja Singha with all his power had been unable to accomplish. Disease began to rage in the neighbouring towns and soon spread to the city, but physicians were unable to understand its nature, or to find any cure for it. Many people died, and the garrison became so weakened by the malady as to seriously impair its powers of resistance. Fortunately, however, the disease died out before the end of the year.

Early in January, 1588, the garrison were again called upon to resist a further attack by Raja Singha. In that month the enemy gave two assaults, in the latter of which the bastions of S. Sebastião, S. Gonçalo, and Santiago were in great danger; but by the bravery of the defenders the enemy was at length repulsed with the loss of many men and of three elephants. After this last attack the Portuguese fleet again set sail, under the command of Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, and carried ruin and desolation all along the coast of Ceylon. He destroyed the villages of Cosgodde, Madampe, and Gindura; surprised and ravaged Galle, Belligam, and Maturka, and utterly destroyed the great temple of Tanaveram, or Dondera, then the most sumptuous in Ceylon, built on vaulted arches on a promontory overlooking the sea, with towers elaborately carved and covered with plates of gilded brass. De Sousa gave it up to the plunder of his soldiers, overthrew more than a thousand statues and idols of stone and bronze, and slaughtered cows within its precincts in order indelibly to defile the sacred places. Carrying away quantities of ivory, precious ornaments, jewellery, and gems, he committed the ruins of the pagoda and the surrounding buildings to the flames.

Recognising the vast importance of providing for the effectual security of Colombo, the Viceroy now sent thither further reinforcements, under the command of Manoel de Sousa Coutinho and Dom Paul de Lima. As soon as Raja Singha saw Thomé de Sousa enter

the port after having destroyed so many of his villages and towns, and being at the same time informed of the expected arrival of Dom Paul de Lima, some of whose ships had already entered the port, he suddenly broke up his camp and began to withdraw his army from before Colombo. The Portuguese, however, did not let him retire peacefully, but falling upon his rear, they engaged in several skirmishes, and cut down many of his men. It is uncertain as to the exact number of men of the Raja's army that were killed in this siege, but some accounts put down the loss at not less than 10,000, whilst the loss of the besieged in these fights was only 140 men, of whom but thirty were Portuguese. The number of the garrison, however, who died of the disease above referred to was not less than 500. Dom Paul de Lima arrived at Colombo the day after the siege had been raised. The garrison being now reinforced by 600 men and a plentiful supply of ammunition, the necessary measures were adopted for putting the place in a state of effectual defence. Eight days were occupied in levelling the siege-works constructed by the Raja's army, after which the damages done to the fort by the recent attacks were repaired and its fortifications strengthened.

The Viceroy, after receiving the satisfactory intelligence of this victory over Raja Singha's army, died in the beginning of May, 1588, after having held the appointment for nearly four years. Raja Singha did not long survive his defeat at Colombo; he died at Sitawacca, in 1592, at a very advanced age.

During the administration of Dom Duarte de Menezes important changes were attempted in the manner of carrying on commerce with India. Owing to the pressing demands on the finances of Spain, in consequence of her fruitless attempts to bring the Netherlands to submission, the profits of the Indian trade had all been absorbed in that enterprise, and means were absolutely

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wanting to provide cargoes for the Indian fleets. Up to this time the monopoly of commeree had rested with the government, but in 1587 the trade with India was handed over to a Company called "Companha Portugueza das Indias Orientas." The new instructions regarding trade were transmitted to the Viceroy by the fleet that left Lisbon in that year. They were considered so prejudicial to the interests of the inhabitants of Goa, that they caused the greatest possible excitement amongst them, so that the Viceroy had need of all his authority, and that also of the priests, to prevent a serious disturbance. The people were quieted, but they, as well as the Viceroy and others in authority, offered a very strong passive resistance to the new order of things; and, as might consequently have been expected, the Company, after a very short and profitless existence, soon came to an untimely end.

CHAPTER IV.

Government of Manoel de Sousa Coutinho—Attack on Mir Alibet and on the Moors of Mombassa—Capture of Mir Alibet—Naval Engagement with Castamuza—Arrival of Mathias de Albuquerque at Goa as Viceroy—Great loss of Vessels trading to India—Persecution of Christians in Ceylon—Attack on Cotimuza and Capture of all his Fleet—Capture of Manar—Treaty with the Zamorin—Engagements with Caffres at Tete and Send—Failure of an Attack on the Muzimbas—The Muzimbas marched against Melinde, but were Defeated—Attack on Chaul by Moors—Capture of the Enemy's Position by the Portuguese—Revolt in Kandy, Death of the King, and Assumption of the Throne by Dom Juan under the title of Wimala Dharma—Fictitious "dalada," or Sacred Tooth of Buddha—Deposition of Dom Juan in favour of Queen Catharina—Subsequent Defeat of the Portuguese by Dom Juan and Resumption by him of the Throne—Arrival of Dom Luiz Coutinho at Goa with the "Bull of the Crusade"—Engagement with an English Fleet near the Azores—Loss of a rich Portuguese Ship from China—Defeat of a Malabar Fleet—Internal Dissensions at Colombo—Erection of a Fort at Solor—Execution of Priests in Japan—Molestation of Portuguese Vessels by Pirates from the Port of Pudeputam or Kunhale—Joint Attack by the Portuguese and Zamorin on Kunhale.

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Upon the death of Dom Duarte de Menezes, the Patents of Succession were opened, when it was found that the first successor named therein was Mathias de Albuquerque, who, however, had already left for Portugal. The second person named in the Patent was Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, who, being at that time in Goa, at once assumed charge of the government.

Soon after this, five ships arrived from Portugal, and Dom Paul de Lima, being now weary of the fatigues of war, and dissatisfied with the slight recognition which he had received for his services, determined to return to Portugal, and he accordingly embarked in the "S. Thomé," commanded by Estevam de Veiga, which accom-

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panied the next homeward-bound fleet from India. When off the coast of Natal, this vessel sprang a leak during a heavy storm, and in the attempt to save her all the cargo was thrown overboad. A boat was lowered, but so many entered that it was overloaded, and, with all in it, sank. Another boat was only saved by throwing many of its occupants overboard, who were also lost, and ninety-eight persons only succeeded in reaching the shore, who landed at a place near the River Simon Dote, fifty leagues south of the Bay of Lorenzo Marquez. From thence they proceeded to the town of the King of Manica, by whom they were kindly received and entertained. He gave them permission either to reside in that town, or in a neighbouring island, until such time as some Portuguese vessels might arrive and take them away. They accepted the latter place, where several of them died. Some of them, after a short time, crossed over again to the continent, where they separated; a number of these found their way to the fort of Zofala, whilst others reached the King of Inyack's town, where they came across certain Portuguese traders who had also been shipwrecked in the neighbourhood.

Of those that remained on the island several afterwards died, amongst whom was Dom Paul de Lima, who was buried there on the shore. The survivors, after remaining here for some time, were rescued by a ship bound for Goa, whither, therefore, they proceeded, and amongst these was Donna Beatrix, widow of Dom Paul, who carried her late husband's bones with her to Goa, and then returned by an early opportunity to Portugal.

Encouraged by his successes in 1587, Mir Alibet again set out from Mocha, at the beginning of the summer of 1588, with four galleys and the vessel he had taken from Rocque de Brito at Lamo. He anchored off Melinde, but was driven from thence the first night after his arrival by Matheus Mendez de Vasconcellos, who commanded on that coast. The Governor, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho,

hearing this pirate was abroad, sent against him his brother Thomé de Sousa Coutinho, with 900 men in twenty vessels of various sizes. After a troublesome voyage, Thomé de Sousa Coutinho arrived at Mombassa in February, 1589, where Mir Alibet had already fortified himself. The Portuguese fleet passed through the enemy's fire up the river, and captured the four galleys, killing at the same time seventy Turks, besides taking many prisoners and thirty pieces of cannon. The Muzimbas, at this time having prepared an expedition against the Moors of Mombassa, their commander sent to Thomé de Sousa, desiring his assistance in that enterprise. De Sousa only too readily assented, and the combined forces having crossed over to the island, attacked their enemies, and spared neither Moor nor Turk. Mir Alibet was taken prisoner, together with a son and brother of the King of Qualife. After this de Sousa Coutinho himself crossed over to the island and summoned the King thereof, who had been the principal actor in this revolt, to submit; he, however, haughtily refused to do so, whereupon Dom Bernardim Coutinho, with one soldier, ran up to the King, who was at the head of his men, and threatening to stab him if anyone stirred, brought him away. He, the King, together with the brother to the King of Qualife and two Governors of Pate, were then beheaded; the King of Sio was sent to work in the galleys, and the rest of the leading men who had been taken captive were fined. De Sousa Coutinho then went to the island of Mandra, and having levelled the town to the ground he devastated the whole island. Having by these actions reduced all the neighbouring coast to submission to the Portuguese, de Sousa Coutinho returned to Goa, carrying with him Mir Alibet. The latter subsequently went to Portugal, where he embraced the Catholic religion, and remained there until his death.

Two Portuguese galleys, being on their way to Chaul to escort to Goa an ambassador sent by the Mughal, were set

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upon at the river of Carapatan by a powerful squadron belonging to the Malabarese, and commanded by the famous Moor, Castamuza. After a tedious fight, the enemy retired in consequence, it is presumed, of the damages they had received in the engagement; the Portuguese vessels were, however, reduced to such a condition that they might easily have been taken had the attack lasted much longer, but the retirement of the enemy, leaving the Portuguese in possession of the field, entitled them to claim the victory.

In the year 1590, Mathias de Albuquerque set out from Lisbon with a fleet of five vessels, of which four were driven back to Portugal. He arrived at Goa in May, 1591, with a commission to succeed Manoel de Sousa Coutinho with the title of Viceroy. De Sousa, having surrendered to him the sword of office, embarked for Portugal on one of the largest ships ever then seen on the ocean, and laden with a very rich cargo; it was, however, wrecked on the sands of Garajao, and nothing whatever of all its valuable merchandise was saved. Up to this time there had been no less than twenty-two vessels lost on the voyages to and from Lisbon and India between the years 1579 and 1591. These heavy losses were, at the time, attributed to two causes, the one being that they were overladen and the other that they were too large.

It will be remembered that Mathias de Albuquerque had been the first named to succeed Dom Duarte de Menezes when the Patents were opened after the death of the latter, but he was then in Portugal. No sooner did he learn this than he determined at once to return to India, and take up the appointment. Owing to the lateness of the season it was deemed impossible for him to succeed in the voyage. He nevertheless determined to make the attempt, and caused a portrait of himself, represented as standing upon Fortune, to be painted on his colours, and he flew this at the masthead as a sign of his resolution. He was fully justified by the results, and

arrived safely, thus giving a very practical lesson on the possibility of navigating the ocean irrespective of the seasons.

It having been brought to the knowledge of the Viceroy that the King of Jafanapatam had joined with the King of Kandy in persecuting those who professed the Christian religion, he determined to make this a cause of war, and accordingly he fitted out a fleet of twenty sail to punish those potentates, the command of which he entrusted to André Furtado. When off Calicut, Furtado met with three ships of Mecca, and after a hot engagement he sunk two of them and captured the other. He then sailed in search of the pirate Cotimuza, nephew and admiral to Kunhale, who, with a fleet of galleys, variously estimated to number from fourteen to twenty-two, made himself absolute master all along the coast of Coromandel. He had captured several Portuguese ships, and contemplated making an attack on the forts of Colombo and Manar. At the mouth of the River Cardiva, Furtado met and fought with Cotimuza, and had nearly captured him, but he only saved himself by swimming, leaving his whole fleet in the hands of the Portuguese. After this victory André Furtado entered the port of Manar, where he found a great fleet, which he at once captured, many of the enemy's men escaping by swimming ashore, who joined themselves afterwards to the King's army. Furtado landed and marched towards the town, which was well fortified, manned, and provided. He first of all assaulted the works, and drove the defenders out of them into the town. The King ordered his commander to return and charge the Portuguese, paying no heed to his advice, to shift for himself, because they would soon be in his palace. The general, however, in obedience to his orders, endeavoured to resist the advance of the enemy, but he fell in the engagement, and his troops, being now without a commander, were cut down to a man. The Portuguese then advanced, carrying everything before them, and having

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1591-92. captured the King, they killed him and his eldest son. The younger son, casting himself at Furtado's feet, implored that his life might be spared, which was granted, and Furtado further appointed him to the government of his father's kingdom until the orders of the Viceroy on the subject should be obtained. He was afterwards made King upon reasonable terms.

At this time Kunhale Marcar, a subject of the King of Calicut, successfully scoured the Malabar coast with a powerful squadron, and the Viceroy accordingly sent Dom Alvaro de Abranchez against him with a considerable fleet. There can be no doubt but that the Kunhale, although belonging to a well-known set of pirates, was acting in concert with the Zamorin, who was able to control his proceedings, and, therefore, responsible for his acts, since Friar Francisco da Costa, who was then a prisoner at the Court of the Zamorin, persuaded that Prince to make peace with the Portuguese. It would appear that the arguments of Friar Francisco prevailed, for the Zamorin sent him to Dom Alvaro to negotiate terms. Dom Alvaro sent him on to the Viceroy, and his negotiations resulted in a satisfactory treaty, under which the Zamorin not only released all the slaves in his kingdom, but even permitted the Jesuits to build a church within his territories, of which he himself laid the foundation-stone.

Four ships sailed from Lisbon at the beginning of the year 1592, under the command of Francisco de Mello, two of which perished on their return voyage, as will be related further on.

In this year, Pero Fernandes de Chaves. Commander of Tete, had some skirmishes with the neighbouring Caffres, who had made hostile demonstrations against that place. In order to effectually subdue them, he called upon the captains of neighbouring Portuguese settlements to unite their troops with his, the combined force numbering about 2,000 men—principally Caffres, who had been enrolled in

the Portuguese service. With these, and such Portuguese as were also available, he marched against Quisura, captain of the Mumbo Caffres, who was at Chicarongo. The latter opposed him with 600 men, and a battle ensued, in which Quisura himself and every one of his men were slain. About the same time André de Santiago, commander of the fort of Sena, also made an expedition against the Muzimbas, but he found them so well fortified that he was obliged to send to Pero Fernandes de Chaves for aid. Chaves marched with some Portuguese musketeers and the Caffres under his command; but the Muzimbas being informed of it, and fearing the conjunction of these forces, fell upon him so unexpectedly that they killed him and all his Portuguese, who formed the van of his army, before the rest of his force could come to his assistance. The latter, seeing that their commander was dead, took to flight, and thus probably saved their own lives. The Muzimbas then marched against André de Santiago, who, having with him only a few Portuguese, endeavoured to make good his retreat before the vastly superior numbers of the enemy; he was, however, overtaken, and, in an engagement that ensued, he was slain, together with most of his men. In these two actions about 130 Portuguese lost their lives.

Dom Pero de Sousa, Commander of Mozambique, upon hearing of these disasters, collected a body of men, consisting of 200 Portuguese and 1,500 Caffres, to take revenge on these Muzimbas. He found them strongly entrenched, and therefore endeavoured to destroy their works before attacking them, but as a bombardment appeared to produce no effect, he determined to scale them, but the attempt resulted in a failure, and he was forced to retire. He then constructed a work with gabions, with the intention of undertaking a regular siege, but some of the Portuguese who were with him, not wishing to incur any further danger in an attack on the Muzimbas, persuaded Dom Pero de Sousa that the fort of Sena was

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Notwithstanding their victory, the Muzimbas now proposed terms of peace, and a treaty was concluded with them. Soon afterwards, however, they marched eastward, and having collected a force of 15,000 men, they passed through the country, destroying everything as they went, as far as Quiloa. This place they entered by the treachery of one of the inhabitants, and put everyone therein to the sword. This Caffre army then marched to Melinde with the intention of destroying that place also. Here, however, the King of Melinde resisted them, with the assistance of thirty Portuguese, until the arrival of a body of 3,000 Mosseguejo Caffres, who came to the relief of Melinde, whereupon the Muzimbas suffered such a crushing defeat, that of their whole army, only the commander and about 100 men succeeded in escaping from the general slaughter.

The only other event of importance that occurred this year in Eastern Africa was the re-establishment of the King of Pemba by Matheus Mendez de Vasconcellos. This King had been expelled from the island by his subjects, and it was only by the assistance of the power of the Portuguese that he was enabled to reassert his authority. This, however, did not last long, for the people, enraged by the high-handed treatment they received from the Portuguese, rose again, and expelled both them and their King from the island, who thereupon fled to Mombassa.

In India, the Portuguese had this year (1592) to defend their position at Chaul from an attack by the Moors, who had a settlement on the opposite side of the river, belonging to Melique. The commander of this place, who had once been in the service of the Portuguese, had collected on a height called the Morro a body of 4,000 horse and

7,000 foot soldiers, with which he overawed the Portuguese city, and inflicted considerable damage on the place by sixty-five large cannon which he had placed there. This action was taken by the Nizamaluco, notwithstanding the treaty that still existed between him and the Portuguese, which had been concluded by Francisco Barreto; but he justified his action in this respect on the ground of certain complaints which he preferred against the present Governor, Mathias de Albuquerque.

The Moors began a regular siege of Chaul in April, 1592, and at the same time that an attack was made on the city some small vessels belonging to the enemy did a great deal of damage along the coast. Considerable injury was done to the city by the enemy's cannon, and so certain was it considered the Moors would capture the place, that fourteen Mughals came to witness its being taken. These, however, ventured too close to the Portuguese works, and being attacked by a party that made a sortie, nine of them were killed, two were taken, and the remaining three saved themselves by flight. The eunuch Taladar, who commanded the enemy, was wounded, and subsequently died; a Turk who succeeded him was also killed, whereupon the command fell to Farate Khan.

The siege was now carried on with unabated vigour, but the Portuguese garrison was hardly sufficiently strong to take the offensive against the enemy's works. Dom Alvaro de Abranches, however, shortly arrived with a reinforcement of 300 men from Bassein, and a further number of 200 from Surat, and the garrison then consisted of 1,500 Portuguese and about an equal number of slaves.

An early day was appointed for an attack on the enemy's position, and the Portuguese having confessed themselves to their priests, advanced to the assault. The plain on the top of the promontory was reached with unexpected ease, but here the fight became severe. The enemy had turned ten elephants loose upon the Portuguese, but one

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of these, upon receiving a wound, rushed back upon the Moors, and trampled many of them to death. The animal then fell into the ditch, and was used by the Portuguese as a bridge by which to cross over into the enemy's works. Another elephant made its way to a wicket, which the Portuguese entered behind it, and found the place filled with the bodies of the slain.

In the capture of this place the numbers of the enemy slain has been put down by some at 10,000, whilst others have stated that they amounted to 60,000. Farate Khan was captured, together with his wife and daughter. The wife was ransomed, but Farate Khan and his daughter became Catholics, and went to Portugal. Amongst the spoil captured was a great quantity of ammunition, a number of horses, five elephants, and seventy-five extraordinary pieces of cannon. The loss of the Portuguese is said to have amounted to only twenty-one men.

Taking advantage of the difficulties in which Raja Singha was involved during the recent siege of Colombo (see p. 75), de Sousa caused a formidable diversion by exciting the people of Kandy to revolt; and Kunappu Bandar of Peradenia, a Cingalese of royal blood, who had embraced the Catholic religion, taking at his baptism the name of Dom Juan, was dispatched with an armed force to prepare the way for enthroning Donna Catharina, the daughter of the late fugitive King Jaya-weira, who had been educated at Manar. This expedition was entirely successful; the people of Kandy not only asserted their independence, but descending to the territories of Raja Singha, laid waste his country to the walls of his palace at Sita-wacca. Dom Juan, elated at his victories, and indignant that the Portuguese should have conferred the sovereignty of the interior on his rival, Dom Philip, on whom also they intended to bestow the hand of Donna Catharina, now turned against his allies, and having driven the Portuguese from Kandy, he removed Dom Philip by poison, and continued hostilities on his own

account against Raja Singha. A desultory warfare was carried on for some time in the highlands of Kandy, which was followed by a decisive action at Kukul-bittra-welle, near the pass of Kadaganauwa, in which Raja Singha was defeated. Having been attended by remarkable success in all his previous undertakings, he did not know how to bear with a reverse, and refusing surgical assistance for a wound, he died at an extreme old age in 1592.

Dom Juan now seized on the supreme power, and assumed the Crown of Kandy under the title of Wimala Dharma. To secure the support of the priesthood, he abjured the Catholic faith, and availing himself of the superstitious belief of the people in the "dalada," or sacred tooth of Buddha, the possession of which was inseparable from royalty, he produced the tooth, which is still preserved in the temple at Kandy, as the original one, and persuaded the people that on the arrival of the Portuguese it had been removed from Cotta, and preserved at Delgammoa in Saffragam.

The Portuguese attempted to depose Dom Juan, and dispatched a force to the mountains under the command of Pedro Lopez de Sousa to escort the young Queen Catharina to the capital, and to restore the crown to the legitimate possessor. Pedro Lopez succeeded at first in expelling the usurper, but after a short interval Wimala Dharma returned, effectually detached the Kandyan forces from their allegiance, and having utterly routed the Portuguese, he seized Pedro Lopez and 500 of his men, whom he made prisoners, and cut off their noses. He possessed himself of the person of the Queen, cast her into prison, and condemned above 150 Portuguese to various kinds of death. After this he seized again the throne of Kandy, of which he held undisturbed possession till his decease twelve years afterwards.

In the year 1593, five vessels arrived at Goa from Portugal, under the command of Dom Luis Coutinho, who carried with him the Bull of the Crusade, of which Friar

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Francisco de Faria, a Dominican monk, was Commissary. One of these ships, the "S. Albertus," on its return voyage to Portugal, was wrecked on the coast Del Natal, when some of the crew were lost. The survivors marched in a body under the command of Nuno Vello Pereira, to the river of Lorenzo Marquez, suffering great hardships by the way. Here they found Manoel Malleyro with a ship, on which Pereira and most of his companions embarked and went to Mozambique. Those that were left behind travelled by land, but came by the way across some Caffres, by whom most of them were killed. Nuno Vello Pereira embarked again at Mozambique on the ship "Cinque Llagas," commanded by Francisco de Mello, and was on his way back to Portugal, but when near the Azores his vessel fell in with three English ships. A fight ensued, in which the Portuguese were defeated, and their vessel was burnt. Only twelve of those on board escaped being burnt with their ship, amongst whom were Nuno Vello and Blas Correa. These were taken by the enemy and carried to England, whence they were subsequently ransomed.

In April, 1594, the ship that went annually from China to Goa was on its way thither richly laden, and when off the Malabar coast, and had almost reached its destination, it was attacked by fourteen galliots of the enemy. There were but fourteen Portuguese in the ship, and these, in an attempt to save their valuable cargo, fought for three days and three nights, until they were all killed. A Javanese, who was on board, in order to prevent the vessel from falling into the hands of the enemy, fired a barrel of gunpowder, and so destroyed it and all its cargo before they could prevent it. The Viceroy now fitted out a squadron of eighteen sail, with 700 men, under the command of André Furtado, to take revenge for the loss of the China ship. On the 1st of August Furtado fell in with three ships belonging to the Zamorin, carrying valuable cargos, which he at once attacked. The vessels were

crowded with people of both sexes and all ages, and it is claimed that, in the engagement that ensued, the enemy lost no less than 2,000 in killed. The vessels were taken, and proved very rich prizes to the conquerors. After this Furtado proceeded on his course, and soon came in sight of the Malabar fleet, of which he had been in search, in the river of Cardiga. This also he engaged and totally defeated, capturing at the same time a large and valuable booty. He then sailed for Ceylon, and having arrived at Colombo, he found that place in great danger, owing to a mutiny against the commander, and other internal dissensions. Furtado, by the exercise of his authority, backed up as that was by the force he had with him, soon quelled the mutiny, and having by his counsel and advice smoothed over what differences existed amongst the garrison, re-established harmony in the fort, and sailed away with his fleet for Goa, where he arrived without further incident.

About the end of the year 1595, João de Saldana arrived at Goa from Lisbon with a fleet of five vessels, in one of which was Friar Alexius de Menezes, of the Order of S. Augustin, who went out to succeed Friar Matheus in the archbishopric of Goa. Not long before this, the religious Order of S. Dominick, in order the better to secure the preaching of the Gospel in their district, erected a fort at Solor, which shortly grew to be a place of such importance that it was deemed advisable to send a commander there. Amongst the earliest of the commanders at Solor were Antonio de Vellegas and Antonio de Andria, who, in retaliation for the death of some monks who had been killed by the people, put a number of the natives to the sword. This retribution, instead of checking the resistance to the priests, only made the inhabitants of the neighbourhood more bitter against them. The punishment inflicted had the effect of quieting them for a time, but after a lapse of two years a conspiracy was organised amongst the inhabitants to kill the commander

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1595-96.

of the fort and all the friars. At an appointed time, the natives fell suddenly and unexpectedly upon the town and fort, and at first inflicted a considerable amount of damage. Thinking that the commander had withdrawn from the fort, the conspirators entered, expecting to secure an easy possession of it, whereupon Antonio de Andria suddenly came upon them, through a secret entrance, accompanied by only a few Portuguese, and killed most of them, thus putting a speedy end to the rebellion.

On the 5th February, 1596, the Emperor of Japan, determined to put down the spread of the Catholic religion in his country, had seven Franciscan monks executed at Nangataque. They were first crucified, and then shot at with arrows.

The Moor, Pate Marca, seeing what a convenient place the port of Pudeputam was to shelter pirates, obtained leave from the Zamorin, whose subject he was, and to whom the port belonged, to build a fort there. From thence, as soon as the fort was completed, he began to make war upon the Portuguese fleets, and captured many of their richly-laden ships. He attacked the village of Thana, in the island of Salsette, near Bassein, during Holy Week, while the garrison were engaged in their devotions, and carried away much booty. Mahomet Kunhale Marca succeeded Pate Marca in the possession of this fort; and being conscious that the Portuguese would certainly, sooner or later, take revenge for the injuries inflicted upon them from thence, he fortified the town (also called Kunhale) by sea and land. On the land side he made a deep ditch with double trenches two and a-half yards wide, and at intervals erected towers armed with cannon that flanked the work. Between the two creeks he built a strong wall for the protection of the town, having a tower at either end, whilst along the sea-shore he erected a palisade, connecting two bastions, in which were heavy cannon that commanded the entrance to the harbour. This entrance was further ob-

structed by means of masts strongly chained together. Feeling himself thus safely protected from attack, Kunhale Marca assumed the title of King, and carried on his uncle's design against the Portuguese with greater success than ever. He captured one of their galleys, a ship arriving from China, besides many other smaller vessels. He aided the Queen of Olala when she revolted, and had also assisted Melique at the last siege of Chaul. Not content with preying upon the Portuguese, he also turned his hand against the Malabarese ships, and by indiscriminate plundering and piracy he accumulated great wealth, which he stored up in his peninsula fortress. It was very clear that, in order to secure the safety of the Portuguese vessels trading on that coast, it would be necessary to curb the rising power of this adventurer. To this end, the Viceroy sent Dom Alvaro de Abranches as an envoy to the Zamorin, to point out how detrimental to the interests of both the Portuguese and himself were the exploits of this notorious pirate, and to propose a joint expedition with the view of putting an effectual end to his depredations. To these proposals the Zamorin assented, and he accordingly concluded a fresh peace with the Portuguese, wherein it was agreed that he should provide a force to attack Kunhale by land, whilst the Portuguese should send a naval expedition to act in conjunction with it for the expulsion of the Kunhale and the razing of his fort. Arrangements had been almost completed for this undertaking when Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueyra, arrived to succeed Mathias de Albuquerque in the government of India.

CHAPTER V.

Dom Francisco da Gama Assumes Office as Viceroy—Subjection of the King of Orissa by the Mughal—Attack on the Portuguese by the King of Kandy—King Philip of Spain Proclaimed King of Ceylon—Bequest by which the Sovereignty of the Island was made over to King Philip—Arrival of the Dutch in India—The Causes and Circumstances which led the Dutch to go to India—Preparations by the Merchants of England for Embarking in a Direct Trade with India—Early Voyages of the English to India and China—Squadron Fitted out against the Zamorin and the Pirate Kunhale—War with the King of Kandy—Engagements with Dutch Vessels in the Eastern Seas—Joint Expeditions by the Zamorin and the Portuguese against the Kunhale—Attack on the Fort of Kunhale—Repulse of the Combined Forces by the Kunhale—Renewed Attack on the Fort—Surrender of the Kunhale—His Sentence and Execution—Critical Position of the Portuguese in Ceylon—Death of King Philip—Fight between Portuguese and Dutch Ships at St. Helena—Arrival of Ayres de Saldanha at Goa as Viceroy—Return of Dom Francisco da Gama to Lisbon.

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Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueyra, arrived at Goa in May, 1597, and at once assumed the office of of Viceroy. From the commencement he adopted a very high tone in his communications with others, and generally conducted himself in such a manner as rendered him extremely unpopular. Amongst other acts that caused a feeling of illwill towards him, he disposed of all the appointments that fell to his gift as Viceroy to his own people, whom he permitted to dispose of them for their individual pecuniary advantage to whomsoever they would. Thus, instead of going to those who, from long and efficient service were justified in expecting promotion, they fell often into the hands of inefficient and utterly undeserving persons. It was not to be expected that such a state of things as this could be long endured, and the complaints

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at length became so loud that Dom Francisco could no longer continue to turn a deaf ear to them. Having enquired into these matters, he rectified the abuses by causing the buyers of appointments to be refunded what they had paid for them, and gave the places to men of more worth.

Catula, the King of Orissa, having plundered and profaned a certain famous pagoda belonging to the Patanis, they rose up in rebellion, and falling upon him unexpectedly killed his son and 2,000 men. The Mughal thereupon sent Manasinza with a large force of 35,000 horse and 80,000 foot, together with a great number of elephants, with castles, and other warlike engines to subdue the Patanis. At Jassalor all the inhabitants, to the number of about 6,000, fell furiously upon the enemy, and at the first onset did some execution amongst them; but being overpowered by numbers they were ultimately defeated, and nearly all were slain. The enemy then entered Jassalor and plundered it, after which the rest of the Patanis submitted to the Mughal. Manasinza then marched against Orissa, the King of which place, not being in a position to resist with any chance of success, freely offered subjection.

In Ceylon, Dom João, the King of Kandy, taking advantage of the circumstance that General Dom Hierome de Azevedo had dispersed his forces, induced the King of Uva and the Princes of Dinavaca to join him in an attack upon the Portuguese. To this end they collected an army consisting of 4,000 men, many musketeers, and several armed elephants, and marched towards the Portuguese fort of Corvite, where Salvador Pereira da Silva commanded with a force of only 100 men. Da Silva, being aware of the enemy's approach, marched out one night accompanied by a few chosen men, four leagues from Corvite, to the place where the enemy was encamped, and, falling upon them unexpectedly, he killed several before they could take up their arms. This sudden attack in the dark caused a complete panic amongst the enemy, who,

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not knowing the numbers that were attacking them, fled precipitately, followed by da Silva and his handful of troops, who slew about 1,000 men and returned to Corvite, bringing with him several prisoners, elephants, and other spoil. In the following summer Dom João again took the field, with the King of Uva and Simão Correa, who, being in rebellion, called himself King of Sita-wacca. He made a demonstration against Matara with the view of drawing Dom Hierome de Azevedo out of his works. Dom Ferdinão the Modeliar, who was in command at Matara, hearing that the Cingalese army was near, thought to surprise them in the same manner as da Silva had done. The enemy were, however, at this time more on the alert, and instead of fleeing as before, they resisted, and a fight ensued, in which Dom Ferdinão had a very narrow escape of defeat, but ultimately he succeeded in entering the enemy's works, where he slew a large number of them and obtained a complete victory.

At the end of May, 1597, Dom João Dharmapala, the lawful King of the whole island of Ceylon, died at Colombo without heirs. King Philip of Spain was accordingly, with the usual solemnity, proclaimed King of the island, he having been appointed heir by the will of the deceased. This sovereignty extended over the whole island with the exception of Jaffna, whose nominal King the Portuguese still recognised, and Kandy, to the throne of which they had themselves asserted the right of the Queen Donna Catharina.

Upon the natives being called upon to swear allegiance to King Philip, it was at first proposed that the laws of Portugal should be introduced for all races alike, reserving to the native chiefs their ranks and privileges; the representatives, however, of these people replied to the effect that, being by birth and education Cingalese, and naturally attached to their own customs and religion, it would be unreasonable to require them to change these for others of which they were utterly ignorant. On all other points

MAP OF THE

From Ph. Baldæus' Work

OF CEYLON.

r, Coromandel, and Ceylon.

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they were ready to recognise Philip of Spain as their legitimate Sovereign; and, so long as their rights and usages were respected, that King and his ministers would receive the same loyalty and fidelity which the Cingalese had been accustomed to show to their own Princes. On these conditions they were ready to take the oath, the officers of the King being at the same time prepared to swear in the name of their master to respect and maintain the ancient privileges and laws of Ceylon.

These terms having been accepted on behalf of the King, the agreement was concluded and proclaimed, together with a solemn declaration that the priests and religious orders were to have full liberty to preach the Catholic faith, neither parents restraining their children, nor children opposing their parents, and that all offences against religion were to be punishable by the legal authorities.

The following are the terms of the bequest by which the King of Ceylon, Dom João (Dharmapala Bahu) made over his territories to the King of Portugal, and under which the latter now claimed the sovereignty of that island :—

"Made this 12th day of August, 1580, in the City and Fortress of Colombo, in the dwelling of His Highness Prince Dom Joam, by the grace of God King of Ceylon, Perea Pandar,* the aforesaid King, being present states to me, Antonio Ribeiro, Notary Public of His Majesty the King,† Lord of this City, in the presence of Witnesses, that he, the King, succeeded to these kingdoms of Ceylon on the death of King Bonegabao,‡ his Lord and Grandfather, who had no children, and had during his lifetime adopted him as his Son, and made him heir with the sanction of the King of Portugal, Dom Joam III., and further states that he possessed these kingdoms in the same way as the aforesaid Bonegabao, his grandfather, having his

* Emperor.
† Of Portugal.
‡ Bhusoaneka VII., King of Cotta, and Maaya Dunnai.

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seat in the Royal City of Cotta, the Chief Metropolis of the kingdom, now destroyed, and that afterwards, through various causes, the Madune Pandar and King of Suitaavaca,* and the Raju,† his son, had tyrannically occupied and taken possession of all his kingdoms, leaving him only with the city and fortress of Colombo, which the Kings of Portugal, through their Viceroys and Captains, defended for a long time in order to restore the said kingdoms to him, which restoration they had, however, been unable to carry out in consequence of other wars the Viceroys were engaged in, and the impoverished state of India; and he, the King, being advanced in years and in failing health, without sons and heirs to rightfully succeed him at his death, and feeling greatly indebted to the Kings of Portugal for all their mercies and help, and especially for the comforts of religion ministered to him by their priests, whereby he was converted to the Catholic faith, &c.; he, the King, bequeaths to the King of Portugal, Dom Manoel, and his heirs, all his kingdoms and lands, with the hope that he will obtain possession of those kingdoms which are now in the hands of his enemies, giving him permission to fight his enemies by sea and land until he shall have obtained restoration of all the territories of those kingdoms which are his, in the same way as the Kings of Cotta had reigned over the other Kings in this island."

This document was signed by the King, the witnesses being Frey Sebastião de Chaves, Manoel Luiz, priest, Estevam Figueira, Pero Jorge Franquo, Antonio Lourenço, and others.

A change about this time occurred in the circumstances of the Portuguese in India, brought about by the arrival there of other European ships, which had come to share with them the profits of the Eastern trade. For an account of the circumstances which induced the Dutch thus to enter into competition with the Portuguese, by sending

* Sita-wacca.

† Raja Singha.

ships direct to India, it will be necessary briefly to review the political situation in Europe at this period.

A.D. 1580-81.

The long persecution of the Netherlands by Philip II. of Spain at last roused the Dutch to throw off the hated Spanish yoke. On the 29th of March, 1580, a resolution passed the Assembly of Holland and Zealand never to make peace or enter into any negotiations with the King of Spain on the basis of his sovereignty. The same resolution provided that his name—hitherto used in all public Acts—should be for ever discarded, that his seal should be broken, and that the name and seal of the Prince of Orange should be substituted in all commissions and public documents. On the 5th July, the Prince of Orange accepted the entire authority as Sovereign and chief of the land, so long as the war with Spain should continue, and, on the 24th of the same month, oaths of allegiance and fidelity were exchanged between the Prince and the Estates. Two days later, on the 26th July, 1581, the "Act of Abjuration" was issued, which consisted of a declaration of independence by the deputies of the United Provinces. The Estates distinctly declared that their abhorrence of the office of the inquisition was prominent among the causes that led to the deposition of their monarch, and in the transactions between the envoys of the States-General and the Duke of Anjou it was remarked, "Under pretence of maintaining the Roman religion, the King has sought by evil means to bring into operation the whole strength of the placards and of the inquisition—the first and true cause of all our miseries."

After the murder of the Prince of Orange, serious considerations were entertained as to whether an appeal should be made to England or France for assistance, but the general feeling was in favour of the former. Agents had already been sent both to England and to France to procure, if possible, a levy of troops for immediate necessity; the attempt was unsuccessful in France, but the Dutch community of the reformed religion in London subscribed

CHAP. V. A.D. 1581-84.

9,005 florins, which sum, with other contributions, proved sufficient to set a regiment on foot, which soon after began to arrive in the Netherlands by companies.

Walsingham, the Minister of Queen Elizabeth, in dealing with these negotiations with Holland, often consulted Roger Williams, an old soldier, who remarked, when the question of the true way to attack Spain was under consideration, "I dare be bound, if you join with Treslong, the States' Admiral, and send off, both, threescore sail into his Indies, we will force him to retire from conquering further, and to be contented to let other Princes live as well as he."

It was strongly felt that to allow the United Provinces to fall again under the yoke of Spain would be fatal to the religious and political interests of England, and that to permit the French to obtain an ascendency in those States would hardly be less detrimental. Queen Elizabeth was strongly in favour of a joint protectorate of the Netherlands by England and France, but, in the meantime, William Davison was sent to the Hague by the English Government, to ascertain the sentiments of the States-General. Envoys sent to France to offer the sovereignty of the Netherlands to King Henry had to retire, after the expiration of three months, with an absolute refusal to their request. The annexations and sovereignty were definitely declined.

It appears that during these negotiations the King of France was playing a double game. He had but recently received the Order of the Garter from Queen Elizabeth, at the hands of Lord Derby; yet not only did he attempt to barter the sovereignty offered him by the Netherlands against a handsome recompense for the claim of the Queen Mother, Catharine de Medici, who was heiress to the Portuguese throne, but he was actually proposing to the King of Spain to join him in an invasion of England. It may, therefore, safely be assumed that Philip II. found means, during these negotiations, to prevent King Henry

from accepting the offer, and that influence was, at the same time, brought to bear upon him diplomatically by England to the same effect. Besides this, Philip endeavoured by his agents to foment civil war in France, in order to prevent any interference by that country in the interests of the Netherlands; and he was, at the same time, contemplating an invasion of England.

As soon as the negotiations with France had come to an unsuccessful end, the English Government lost no time in intimating to the States that they would not be left without an ally. The latter, whilst they were willing enough to become the subjects of Queen Elizabeth, were indisposed to mortgage large and important towns, such as Flushing, Brill, and others, as was demanded, as security for the repayment of the subsidies which Elizabeth might be induced to advance. They preferred to pay in sovereignty rather than inmoney, but this did not suit the English Queen.

After the envoys had returned unsuccessful from France, those in England approached the Ministers (21st March, 1585) with the view of arranging for an English protectorate. On the 22nd April, the States-General addressed a letter to Queen Elizabeth, offering her the sovereignty of those Provinces. After a good deal of bargaining, and the arrival of fresh envoys from the Netherlands, a treaty was at last concluded, on the 12th August, between the envoys and the Lords of Council, for the relief of Antwerp, in combination with another treaty for rendering permanent assistance to the Provinces. It being a recognised fact that the present war of the Netherlands was the war of England, of Protestantism, and of European liberty, it was next to impossible for England to avoid entering into it; in the negotiations, each side was anxious to make the best bargain for itself. Further delay was allowed to take place by the States-General, so that the ratification of the treaties only reached England on the 31st October. Owing

CHAP. V. to the loss of time thus occasioned, Antwerp fell before English forces could be sent to its relief.

A.D. 1585. It was now arranged that a permanent force of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse should be sent to the Provinces at the Queen's cost, and that the cities of Flushing and Brill should be placed in Her Majesty's hands until the entire reimbursement of the expenses incurred thereby. This force embarked at Harwich on the 9th December, under the command-in-chief of the Earl of Leicester, who was also accompanied by a body of lancers, raised at his own cost, a fleet of fifty ships, and "the flower and chief gallants of England." This expedition reached Flushing on the 19th December, 1585.

Up to this time the Portuguese fleets had been content to bring the products of the East to Lisbon, to which place merchant ships from the United Provinces used to resort, and were the means by which that merchandise was distributed over Northern Europe. In the year 1585, Philip II. ordered that all the Dutch ships then in Spanish waters should be seized, whereupon, on the 29th November, an order was issued by the States-General that nobody whatever should sail with vessels or goods to Spain, Portugal, or any islands or places subject to the King of Spain, on pain of forfeiting both ship and goods, or the value of the same; and that shippers and owners of vessels would also be punished if this were done with their knowledge and consent. These orders gave great alarm to the merchants, since, if strictly carried out, the result could only be to throw the principal commerce of the States into the hands of others. The Dutch merchants, in order to preserve their interests, continued to carry on their trade in vessels under neutral flags. These orders were, however, never very rigidly enforced, and were before long rescinded. But similar resolutions were from time to time passed, and between 1585 and 1600 ten prohibitions against trade with Spain and Portugal were issued by the States-General.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1586-96.

From 1565 the Dutch had developed a trade to the countries of the north, and by 1585 they had reached the region of the White Sea. In 1581, Gerard Mercator received a letter from Johan Belek, informing him that Cathay could be reached round by the north, by extending the discoveries already made in that direction, and, shortly afterwards, Balthazar de Moncheron proposed to William I. that, if Government would render assistance to the undertaking, an expedition might be sent that way towards China and India. The political state of affairs at that time prevented the States-General from affording the required aid, and it was not until the 5th June, 1594, that the proposed expedition started under Cornelis Cornelisz and Willen Barendez.

India was not, however, destined to be reached by that route; but there existed about this period, in the States, one John Huygen van Linschoten, son of a plain burgher of West Friesland, to whom the Dutch are indebted, not only for the information which first led to their entering upon the direct Indian trade, but also for many contributions to science and to the progress of civilisation. Being seized with a strong desire to travel, he left home at the age of seventeen, and proceeded to Lisbon. After a residence there of about two years he went to India in the suite of the Archbishop of Goa, and remained in that country for nearly thirteen years, during which time, by means of careful and diligent observation, he amassed a large fund of information on almost every branch of enquiry, including especially the products which formed the material of a great traffic, the means of transportation, and the course of commerce. Linschoten returned home in 1592, and in 1596 he published the results of his researches, which were studied with avidity, not only by men of science, but by merchants and seafarers. He also added to the record of his Indian experiences a practical manual for navigators. He described the course from Lisbon to the East, the currents, the trade-winds and

CHAP. V. A.D. 1594-97.

monsoons, the harbours, islands, shoals, sunken rocks and dangerous quicksands, and he accompanied his work with maps and charts of land and water, as well as by various astronomical and mathematical calculations.

No sooner had Linschoten returned home than the merchants of Amsterdam, at the instance of Peter Plancius, deputed Cornelis Houtman to Portugal, to make further investigations as to the Indian trade; he returned in 1594, and immediately after his arrival a meeting was held by the principal shipowners at Amsterdam, at which Peter Plancius was also present, when the general question of the Indian trade was discussed, and a resolution was adopted to send a fleet to India at an early date. A certain number of the merchants present together provided the necessary funds for the expedition, and they dispatched four ships, ostensibly for a voyage "to the countries lying on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope." These ships sailed on the 2nd April, 1595, under the command of Cornelis Houtman, with whom Pieter Dircksz Keyser went as pilot. These vessels remained absent for nearly two and a-half years. The expedition was not very successful from a financial point of view; one vessel had to be burnt as being wholly unfit for further use, and the remaining three returned in August, 1597, with only one-third of their crews. The road to India had, however, been opened, and a treaty had been entered into with the King of Bantam. After this, more than one Company was started in Holland for the Eastern trade, which now became fully established.

In the same year that the Dutch sent their first expedition to India, King Philip, without any warning, again seized upon all the Dutch ships that were in Spanish waters, and he also confiscated all the property of the Dutch merchants then in the country. Their books and papers were all seized with a view to ascertaining therefrom the amount of goods and debts they had amongst themselves, and to what extent they were creditors of Spaniards

or Portuguese. A proclamation was also issued to the effect that no Spanish subject should pay any debt to a Dutchman under pain of forfeiting an equal amount to the King. Information relative to this unjust decree reached Holland, through Sicily and Antwerp, whereupon the States-General resolved (on the 12th August, 1595) that, with a view to prevent additional losses and inconveniences, pending the receipt of further information on this subject, all communications with Spain by sea should be suspended. Orders were issued to the Boards of Admiralty, both in Holland and Zealand, strictly to prevent ships sailing from any harbour in the country for either Spain or Portugal until further orders; and on the 29th November an order was promulgated suspending all navigation to Spain and Portugal and all the dependencies of the Spanish Crown.

Later on, news was received that all the ships seized in Spanish waters had been confiscated, and were to be employed in the King's service against the Dutch, as well as against other enemies. The States-General thereupon resolved, on the 3rd October, 1596, that in order to prevent thus giving the King of Spain any means that he might use against the common weal of Christianity, all ships that were preparing to sail for Spain, Portugal, or Italy, were to be peremptorily stopped. A few days later (on 19th October) orders were passed to the Admiral of Holland and to the Deputies of the Admiralty, to at once send a ship from the Maas to the Channel to proceed as far as Calais, and that this vessel, as well as all other vessels of war it might meet with, should be instructed to overhaul any Dutch ships they might fall in with, and, if any captains were found to be on their way to either Spain, Portugal, or Italy, to prohibit their proceeding to either of those countries, under pain of losing both their ship and cargo, and to order them at once back to Holland. Ships were also ordered to be sent to the Elbe and the Eems, to give similar warning to any vessels that might

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be found in those ports. Thus did the States-General, in reply to the attempt made by King Philip to crush the trade of Holland, meet this by adopting the most stringent measures they could concert for stopping all further commercial intercourse between those respective countries.

At the same time that Holland was making preparations for embarking on a direct trade with India, people in England were making moves in a similar direction. It appears that in October, 1580, divers English merchants presented a memorial to the Lords of the Council, in which it was pointed out that in the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and China Seas, and in the peninsula of India, there were many ports which might be visited with advantage by English ships, at which sales might be made of English cloths and other staple manufactured articles, and purchases obtained of the produce of those countries; and they therefore requested the Queen's license for three ships and three pinnaces to be equipped and protected in this trade, without being subject to any other condition than that of the payment of customs on their return. This memorial appears to have been favourably received, as, in 1591, Captain Raymond, with three ships, the "Penelope," the "Marchant Royal," and the "Edward Bonaventure," was sent on this experiment.

In the meanwhile, however, Queen Elizabeth had issued her manifesto, on concluding a treaty of alliance with the Netherlands in 1585, which has been described as being a hardly disguised proclamation of war against Philip II. The King of Spain evidently so regarded it, and forthwith issued a decree ordering the seizure of all English, as well as all Netherlands, vessels within his ports, together with the arrest of persons, and confiscation of property. Diplomatic relations between the two countries had, however, been broken off so early as January, 1584, when Queen Elizabeth ordered de Mendoza, the Spanish

ambassador, to quit the country, in consequence of his complicity in Throgmorton's plot against her, with the view of placing Mary of Scotland on the throne of England. This decided Elizabeth to show hostility to the Catholic King, and was followed by the dispatch of twenty-three ships, with 2,300 troops, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, which left Plymouth on the 15th September, 1585, on an expedition against the Spanish colonies and shipping.

Captain Raymond's expedition sailed on the 10th April, 1591, and, after many adventures, the survivors arrived at Falmouth, without their ships, in August, 1594. Although losses by sea disappointed the adventurers in their speculation, the knowledge which Captain Lancaster, one of the survivors, had acquired of the practicability of the schemee, ncouraged other adventurers subsequently to embark in a similar project. Accordingly, in 1596, another expedition, consisting of three ships, was prepared for a trade to China, for which purpose Queen Elizabeth granted letters of recommendation to the Emperor in favour of Richard Allen and Thomas Bromfield, merchants and citizens of London. These vessels, the "Bear," the "Bear's Whelp," and the "Benjamin," under the command of Captain Benjamin Wood, and fitted out principally at the charges of Sir Robert Dudley, sailed from England for China, but were not heard of again, not one of the company ever returning to give an account of the rest.

In 1599 the Dutch, who had now firmly established their trade in the East, having raised the price of pepper against the English from 3s. per lb. to 6s. and 8s., the merchants of London held a meeting on the 22nd September, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, with the view of adopting measures, on a more extensive scale than theretofore, for establishing a trade between England and India, and an Association of Merchant Adventurers was formed to embark on a voyage to the East Indies. On

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the 24th September, the first general meeting of these Adventurers was held, the result of which was a resolution to apply to the Queen for her royal assent to their project. The Queen's approbation of the voyage was signified on the 16th October, but political considerations with regard to Spain hindered the immediate dispatch of an expedition, and an entire season was consequently lost.

By the 8th October, 1600, five vessels had been prepared for the voyage, and these sailed from Woolwich on the 13th February, 1601, under the command of Captain Lancaster. The fleet sailed first to Achin, with the King of which place Captain Lancaster concluded a treaty, by which certain privileges of trade were conferred on the English. Not having procured a full lading of pepper at Achin, Captain Lancaster went to Bantam, where he also acquired privileges of trade from the King, and settled a factory. On leaving, the King handed to him several suitable presents for Queen Elizabeth, together with a letter expressive of his satisfaction in opening commercial intercourse between England and his dominions, and of his resolution to consider the Spaniards as enemies to both nations.

Captain Lancaster returned to England on the 11th September, 1603, and the result of this experiment proved so successful that arrangements were at once made for a second voyage. Thus did the English enter into a competition with the Portuguese and the Dutch for a portion of the East Indian trade.

According to custom, Dom Francisco da Gama, soon after entering upon office as Viceroy, fitted out two squadrons, the one to sail off the coast of Malabar, and the other for the north. The necessity for these was now very much increased in consequence of the activity of the pirate Kunhale, who, with the secret connivance of the Zamorin, still continued to prey upon shipping in those seas. The squadron for the Malabar coast was placed under the

command of Dom Luiz da Gama, brother to the Viceroy, and consisted of five galleys and thirty-six other vessels, in which there were nearly 2,000 picked men. These went along the coast, attacking and destroying places belonging to the Zamorin, in retaliation for the losses inflicted upon Portuguese vessels by the Kunhale, and with the view of forcing him to assist in the destruction of that pirate. The squadron for the north consisted of ten ships, commanded by Luiz da Silva. He proceeded first to the island of Sangenes, which was a usual resort for pirate vessels, but not finding any there he landed and ravaged it as a punishment for having harboured them. In the River Chapora he found four paraos belonging to these pirates, two of which he captured, and one he sank with his guns; many of the crews were slain, but several got ashore, and of these 200 were captured and beheaded, and their heads were set up at the mouth of the river as a warning to others. Near Chaul, Luiz da Silva took a galliot, and further on he captured a galley, in which was the nephew of Kunhale, with 200 men, of whom 100 were killed, without any loss on the part of the Portuguese.

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War still continued to be carried on against the Portuguese in Ceylon, where the King of Kandy had organised several bodies of men, consisting of some three or four thousand each, to harass them in different directions. Against these Dom Hierome de Azevedo ordered Salvador Pereira da Silva and Simon Pironam, with a few picked men each. They destroyed towns, took forts, killed many people, and reduced all the Corlas, or Precincts, that were in rebellion against the Portuguese, to obedience. Two Dutch ships which had arrived in the Eastern seas did some small amount of damage along the coast of Malabar and other places. On arriving near Malacca they met six Portuguese vessels coming out of that port bound for India, and commanded by Francisco da Silva. These they engaged for eight days, at the expiration of which time

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the Dutch, finding themselves an unequal match for the greater number of vessels opposed to them, gave up the contest and made for the port of Queda, having, it was believed, sustained severe losses during the engagement. There, for want of men, they quitted the smaller of their two vessels, and, having all embarked in the other, they were cast away on the coast of Pegu.

In this year, 1597, Dom Luiz de Cerqueyra, Bishop of China, went, accompanied by Friar Alexander de Valiniano, in the place of Dom Pero Martinez, who had died at Japan, to superintend the spiritual conquest of that country. They were present at the death of Taicozana, the Emperor of those islands.

The Kunhale, emboldened by the impunity with which the Zamorin permitted him to pursue his nefarious deeds, by which he greatly enriched himself, began to assume a tone of independence, and called himself "King of the Malabar Moors," and "Lord of the Indian seas." This must have been sufficiently galling to the pride of the Zamorin; but the Kunhale shortly gave evidence of his contempt for him whose titles he had so arrogantly assumed, by causing the tail of one of his elephants to be cut off, and by offering a gross indignity to one of his Nairs. The Portuguese were not slow to take advantage of this opportunity, and to again urge the Zamorin to enter into an agreement with them for the destruction of the Kunhale's power. This time they were more successful, and a treaty for joint action against that pirate was, as has already been stated, concluded with the Zamorin by Dom Alvaro de Abranches at the instigation of the late Viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque. The time had now arrived when Dom Francisco da Gama resolved to put into effect the articles of that agreement.

The situation of Kunhale's fort was admirably adapted for defence, being nearly at the point of a peninsula formed by a bend in the stream of the River Pudepatan (Kotta river). Within the bar of this river was a creek

running towards the south, which could only be ascended by large vessels for about half its length. The isthmus upon which the fort stood was protected on the land side by a strong wall, extending from the creek to the river.

Kunhale had laid in an ample supply of provisions and made every necessary arrangement for resisting the expected attack. His garrison consisted of 1,500 Moors, all picked men and well armed, whom he stationed at certain points along his line of defence. The small vessels of the Portuguese fleet first took up a position at the mouth of the river, and attacked the forts with their guns with the view of keeping the defenders engaged, so that they might not interfere with the troops of the Zamorin whilst they were taking up their position on the land side of their fortifications. At the same time, Dom Ferdinão scoured the coast, with the view of preventing the supply of provisions or other relief to the fort. Shortly after the commencement of the attack, the squadron under command of Dom Luiz da Gama arrived, which consisted of four galleys and thirty-five smaller vessels. It was also accompanied by ten vessels which had been fitted out by private gentlemen at their own charge, and three others, laden with men and ammunition, which had been sent by the city of Cochin, besides two large barques with heavy cannon to bombard the fort. The King of Cochin, fearing that the result of this joint action against the Kunhale might be detrimental to his interests by bringing about a close union between the Zamorin and the Portuguese, caused a rumour to be circulated, taking care that it should reach the ears of the Portuguese commanders, to the effect that the Zamorin had agreed with the Kunhale to suddenly fall upon and cut off all the Portuguese so soon as they should be engaged in the assault on the fortress. This report failed, however, to produce the desired effect; for, whilst the truth of it was not credited, it merely caused the Portuguese commanders to act with additional caution. As soon as the entire fleet had as-

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sembled in front of the fort of Kunhale, it was discovered that, in addition to the former works, a line of galliots had been drawn up on the water's edge under the fort, in order to prevent an attack from that quarter.

A council of war was held, previously to engaging in a general attack on the place, when it was decided that the ships should enter the river and be drawn up in a line, with their sterns to the shore, so as to cover the men when attacking the fort. Before putting it into execution, this resolution was first sent to Goa for the Viceroy's approval, and he, agreeing to the plan of attack, sent orders to his brother to see that it was properly carried out. Dom Luiz da Gama, however, being over-persuaded by some of his officers, thought fit to disobey those orders, and, under the pretence that the crossing of the bar might be attended with great danger, and might even prove fatal to the success of the expedition, he made the attack by the side of Ariole. To this disobedience of orders is mainly attributed the failure of the present enterprise.

The Zamorin, who was attacking the town from the opposite side, sent to request that some Portuguese might be despatched to his assistance, whereupon Dom Luiz de Gama, mindful of the rumour above referred to, hesitated to comply with this demand until hostages should be sent in exchange. This was immediately complied with, the Zamorin sending six men of distinction, including the Princes of Tanur, Chale, and Carnene, and the chief Judge of his kingdom, whereupon 300 Portuguese, under the command of Belchior Ferreira, were placed at his disposal. On the 3rd May, 1598, at night, the Portuguese troops began to land, the van being led by Luiz da Silva with 600 men, amongst whom was Major Dom Antonio de Leyva. The sign for both armies to commence the assault, which was to take place at midnight, was to be a burning lance, and the person to give the sign was Belchior Calaca He, however, mistaking the appointed

hour, gave the signal too soon, and considerable confusion ensued in consequence. Belchior Ferreira, who was with the Zamorin's army, no sooner saw the flame than he rushed to the assault with his Portuguese and about 5,000 Nairs, but was repulsed with the loss of twenty-eight men. Luiz da Silva, who should have made a simultaneous attack, although he was quite ready and saw the signal, did not move his men, as the appointed hour had not yet arrived, and the whole arrangements for the attack were thus frustrated.

Towards morning Luiz da Silva resolved on attacking the place with the forces under his command, but without apparently first communicating his intention to Belchior Ferreira, so as to secure the co-operation of the Zamorin's forces. He accordingly crossed the creek of Balyçupe with 500 men in sixty almadies or boats. Benedict Correa, who was the first to land, was immediately shot down; Luiz da Silva, who followed, was also killed, whereupon the command devolved upon Dom Francisco Pereira, who soon fell, and was succeeded by Major Leyva. He and many other gentlemen of note speedily added their names to the death-roll, and the Portuguese forces were shortly afterwards thrown into complete confusion by the desertion and flight of some 153 of their numbers. It was now made clear to Dom Luiz da Gama what a fatal error he had made in not acting up to his orders, since, from the position he had taken up, in opposition to those orders, he was unable to give the necessary assistance to the assaulting party, he having placed his vessels on the opposite side of the fort. Being without boats wherewith to effect a landing, he jumped into the water and waded to the shore, calling upon his men to follow him. In this attempt to land 300 men were lost, of whom the greater part were drowned; and although they were unable to save Luiz da Silva's party from defeat, they to some extent avenged his death by entering the town, a part

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The attack on Kunhale having thus failed on all sides, Dom Luiz da Gama retired to Cochin, leaving Dom Francisco de Sousa to guard the entrance to the river. The latter persuaded the Zamorin to make another assault on the town, on the belief that the late slaughter had so weakened the Kunhale's forces that it might easily be taken. An attack was accordingly made with 10,000 men, but was again repulsed.

On receipt at Goa of the news of this second repulse, Dom Luiz da Gama was sent back to conclude an arrangement with the Zamorin not to raise the siege, but to maintain his position before the town during the winter and until the Portuguese fleet could return the following spring to renew the attack. An agreement was accordingly concluded to that effect, after which Dom Ferdinão de Noronha was left there with twelve ships to prevent relief being sent to Kunhale by sea. On his return to Goa again a charge was brought against Dom Luiz da Gama in connection with the failure of the attack on Kunhale, and he was brought to trial, but acquitted. After this he was sent to take the command of Ormuz, to which he had been appointed by the King before he left Lisbon.

In the following year, 1599, as soon as the Viceroy had dispatched the homeward-bound ships and the usual squadrons, he turned his attention to renewing the war against Kunhale, who, in consequence of his defeat of the expedition of the preceding year, had now assumed the additional titles of "Defender of Mohammedanism" and "Expellor of the Portuguese," and several native Princes were beginning to speculate upon the consequences should he finally succeed in triumphing over his enemies. To this end the Viceroy appointed André Furtado de Mendoça as commander of a new expedition

which comprised three galleys and fifty-four other vessels. With this fleet he proceeded to his destination, and by the way he dissuaded the King of Banguel and the Queen of Olala from assisting the Kunhale, as they had intended to do; he also took five ships from Mecca which were carrying relief to the enemy.

Having arrived at Kunhale, André Furtado had an interview with the Zamorin, the result of which was that, shortly afterwards, in December, 1599, a treaty was concluded between them, under which the latter was to supply, as long as necessary, 1,000 workmen for the camp and siege, and fifteen elephants for so long as the siege should last; to provide all the necessary timber, carpenters, sawyers, &c.; to find 5,000 men-at-arms for the siege; to supply four ships with sailors and lascars to watch and protect the river, besides thirty smaller boats for the same purpose; and 200 axes and 1,000 baskets for the siege. André Furtado, on his part, undertook that directly the fort of Kunhale should be captured it would be destroyed, and that the Zamorin should receive half the money, goods, and artillery found in the place, whilst all the other arms there were to be the property of the finders. The Zamorin further undertook to erect a church and factory for the Portuguese in Calicut.

After the conclusion of this agreement there also arrived from Goa and other places additional forces, comprising one galleon, one galley, eleven ships, and twenty-one other vessels, carrying with them a supply of ammunition and 790 men. Before commencing operations, André Furtado made a personal inspection of the enemy's works, gave instructions for several batteries to be erected, in which were placed his battering cannon, and he also made himself absolute master of the river. His first operations were against some outworks of the enemy, from which the Moors were speedily driven, whereupon Kunhale himself brought up reinforcements and expelled the Portuguese. As soon as he saw his men

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giving way, André Furtado landed and led another attack in person, which was this time successful, and 600 Moors were slain, whereas the loss of the Portuguese was only two captains and nine soldiers. After this an attack was made on Fort Blanco, and although unsuccessful in itself, the Kunhale had by this time become so hard pressed that he opened up communications with the Zamorin, with the view of bribing him by means of large presents, to accept the surrender of the place on the condition that all the men's lives should be spared. The Zamorin was disposed to accede to these terms, but as soon as this fact came to the knowledge of André Furtado, he ordered another assault to be made on the works with all the troops at his disposal, whereupon the Zamorin, breaking off negotiations, seconded this by an attack with 600 Nairs on the other side of the fort. After some fighting the works were entered, and the lower part of the town was plundered and burnt. Batteries were then erected against the upper town and fort, causing great destruction; and ultimately the Kunhale, being unable to offer any further resistance, surrendered upon the single condition that his life should be spared. He marched out of his fort with a black veil over his head, carrying his sword point downwards, which he handed to the Zamorin, by whom it was given to André Furtado. Kunhale was made prisoner and carried to Goa, where, in spite of the conditions of his surrender, he was condemned to death as a traitor to his King, a pirate, and a persecutor of the Christians, and he was accordingly beheaded, together with many of his companions. The fort of Kunhale and all the adjoining works were levelled to the ground, in accordance with the agreement previously made to that effect.

We must now go back for a few years, and recount what leading events occurred elsewhere whilst the Portuguese in India were engaged in destroying the power of the Kunhale.

About the year 1597 Dom John de Samudio, arriving at Macao in command of a Spanish vessel, erected a fort in the port of Pinal, in spite of the opposition and protestations against his proceedings on the part of Dom Paul de Portugal, who was in command there.

In Ceylon, the following year, Dom Hierome de Azevedo, having in view the ultimate conquest of Kandy, whose King, by constant warfare, had become quite a scourge to the Portuguese, erected a strong fort at Manicavare, so as to establish a base from which operations might ultimately be carried on in the near vicinity of that town; and also a second one at Saffragam, on the confines of Uva. The King of Kandy, himself an usurper, being alarmed at this action, sent out, in conjunction with the King of Uva, several bodies of men to harass the Portuguese. These were soon defeated, and offensive operations would now probably have been commenced but that the Portuguese troops broke out into mutiny in consequence of the deficiency of supplies, by which they were reduced to great distress and want. They were accordingly permitted to disperse themselves throughout the villages for sustenance, which, as a general rule, they obtained simply by robbery; and as soon as they had refreshed themselves they returned to duty, and speedily reduced all the *Corlas* to submission. Shortly afterwards, Dom Hierome obtained another victory on the borders of Kandy. The retention of their position in Ceylon in the face of these constant attacks obliged the Portuguese to maintain large forces in the island; and for the purpose of garrisoning the neighbouring forts, as well as others at various points of the coast, they were compelled to maintain an army of over 20,000 men, of whom less than 1,000 were Europeans.

In the spring of the year 1598, Dom Hierome Coutinho was prepared to sail for India with a fleet of five ships, but these were unable to proceed, as the mouth of the

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Tagus was blockaded by an English squadron, under the command of the Earl of Cumberland, which remained there until the season was too far advanced for it to proceed. No fleet, therefore, left Lisbon for the East in that year. Early in the following year (1599) Dom Hierome sailed with four vessels of the previous year's fleet, accompanied by Simão de Mendoça, who was in command of three other vessels. These carried to India the news of the death of the King, Dom Philip II. One of these vessels was lost off Sofala, and another, on her return journey, fought two Dutch ships near the island of S. Helena, and claimed to have gained an advantage over them. It appears that the latter vessel, the "S. Simon," commanded by Diogo de Sousa, of Viana, being in advance of the rest of the fleet of homeward-bound ships, came upon two Dutch vessels, each with two tiers of guns, that were taking in water at S. Helena. These sent a message to Diogo de Sousa, calling upon him instantly to surrender, or that he would soon be sent to the other world. The only reply given to this message was a shot from one of his guns, which was immediately answered from eight guns of the enemy. The fierceness of the firing from the Dutch ships so alarmed the Portuguese crew that several of them attempted to abandon the ship, but being encouraged by de Sousa, they returned to their places, and did much damage to the enemy's vessels by their guns. The fight was carried on the whole of the afternoon, all night, and the next morning, when the Dutch ships, having sustained considerable injury, sailed away, leaving on shore the casks they had sent for water. Shortly after this the rest of the Portuguese fleet came up, and, joining Diogo de Sousa, they continued the voyage home together.

In the year 1600 four vessels arrived at Goa from Lisbon, under the command of Ayres de Saldanha, who went out to succeed the Conde de Vidigueyra as Viceroy. One of these, on its return voyage, was taken at the

mouth of the Lisbon river. In another vessel the late Viceroy returned home, much to the satisfaction of the people of Goa, who did not hesitate to show their disrespect for him in the most open manner so soon as he no longer held the office of Viceroy. Over the principal gate of the city there stood a large marble statue of Dom Vasco da Gama, and this the people not only threw down one night, but having broken it up they hung the quarters in public places, and, on the day Dom Francisco da Gama was to embark, forty men, well armed, went on board the vessel before him and hanged his effigy at the yardarm, which had been made for the purpose, representing him exactly both in face and costume. On his arrival on board Dom Francisco enquired what that figure was there for, and received the answer, "It is your lordship, and those are the men who did it," to which he merely replied, "No more, no more India." He ordered the effigy to be cut down and cast into the sea, and at once set sail, but was obliged to return again in two days' time to take in fowl, because all that had been previously put on board had been poisoned. He started again on the 25th December, and proceeded direct to Lisbon, where he arrived on the 27th May, 1601, having thus performed the voyage in what was then considered to be the incredibly short space of five months. It is related that the winds were so favourable he was enabled to make the entire voyage without once furling sail, which fact gave rise to the remark that "the elements loved the Count better than the men."

The kingdom of Pegu, which had hitherto been one of no great importance, was, during the Viceroyalty of Dom Francisco da Gama, raised to be one of the greatest Empires in Asia.

CHAPTER VI.

Demonstration against the King of Jafanapatam—Expulsion of the Dutch from Amboina and Sunda—The Portuguese obtain a Position in Arakan—Career of Salvador Ribeiro de Sousa and of Filippe de Brito e Nicote—Capture of Siriam, and Defence of that place against the King of Arakan—Filippe de Brito e Nicote Proclaimed King—Expedition for the Discovery of "Great Cathay"—Preaching of the Catholic Religion in China—Arrival of Dom Martin Alonso de Castro at Goa as Viceroy—Hostility of the Dutch and Natives in the Moluccas—Expulsion of the Dutch from Ternate and Tidore—Attack on Malacca by the Dutch and some Neighbouring Kings—Unsuccessful Attack on Achin—Arrival of the Viceroy at Malacca—Destruction of a Portuguese Fleet by the Dutch—Death of the Viceroy—He is Succeeded by Dom F. Alexius de Menezes as Governor—Grant of the Silver Mines of Monomotapa to the Crown of Portugal—Attack on Mozambique by the Dutch—Dom João Pereira Frojas, Conde de Feyra, appointed Viceroy—His Death on the Voyage to India—Andrew Furtardo de Mendoça Succeeds as Governor until Relieved by Ruy Lourenço de Tavora as Viceroy—Siege of Siriam by the Kings of Arakan and Taungu—Treaties of Peace concluded with the Kings of Taungu and Martaban—Career of Sebastião Gonzales Tibao—Attack of the Mughal on Balna—Conquest of Kandy by Dom Hierome de Azevedo—War with Chaul.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1600.

THE first thing that occupied the attention of Ayres de Saldanha, after he had assumed the office of Viceroy, was the condition of affairs in Ceylon. Contrary to the terms of his treaty with the Portuguese, the King of Jafanapatam had been giving assistance to the King of Kandy. In view of the designs entertained against Kandy this was, of course, not to be tolerated, and the Viceroy accordingly ordered Manoel Barreto da Silva, who was in command at Manar, to bring him again to submission. Manoel Barreto accordingly proceeded against him with a force of 1,000 men, in opposition to which the King of

Jafanapatam had organised an army of 12,000. Before any hostile proceedings had commenced, Friar Manoel, of S. Matthias, undertook the office of mediator, and succeeded in bringing about an amicable settlement, and so avoiding the spilling of blood.

André Furtado was sent over to the Moluccas in the hope of recovering them. He first of all succeeded in driving the Dutch out of Amboina and Sunda, and restored the Rosetelos to Portuguese subjection, besides capturing several strong places at Ito, Nao, and Veranula. He then appeared before Ternate, but was driven thence by bad weather, and returned to Amboina.

It was during the government of the present Viceroy that the Portuguese obtained their first position in Arakan. This was due to one Salvador Ribeiro de Sousa, who was one of the many Portuguese soldiers of fortune who, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, used to obtain employment under the Kings of the small States into which "Chinese India" was then divided. Born at Guimarães, he, towards the close of the sixteenth century, went to Arakan, where he obtained a captaincy in the native forces. Associated with him in the command was Filippe de Brito e Nicote, a native of Lisbon, but of French nationality—a man as ambitious as de Sousa was disinterested. Xilimixa, King of Arakan, having possessed himself of the crown of Pegu, and desiring to show his gratitude to the Portuguese who had assisted him in this matter, gave them the port of Siriam.* Nicote next persuaded Xilimixa to erect a Custom House at the mouth of the river, ostensibly that he might increase his revenues thereby, but with the real intention of seizing upon it when completed, and of turning it into a fortress which might serve as a base of operations to the Portuguese for the conquest of the whole kingdom. As soon as the work

* Siriam, more correctly called Thanlyeng, is a town of the Rangoon district of the Pegu division, on the left bank of the Pegu river, about three miles from its mouth.

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As soon as the works were sufficiently advanced, Nicote proceeded to Goa, with the view of handing the fort over to the Viceroy, leaving Salvador Ribeiro de Sousa in charge of the place. At the same time he persuaded the King that his expedition was for the purpose of procuring assistance with a view to the conquest of Bengal. But before setting out on this journey, Nicote placed himself in communication with several neighbouring Princes, holding out to each of them separately that, if he would join with the Viceroy in the projected conquest, he might easily become King of Pegu, and some of them were sufficiently persuaded to send ambassadors to the Viceroy for that purpose.

No sooner had Nicote departed, than the King became aware of his intrigues, and being filled with indignation thereat he ordered all the Portuguese to be expelled from his kingdom. To enforce this, he sent Banadala down the river with a fleet and 6,000 men. These were met by three vessels with only thirty Portuguese, commanded by Salvador Ribeiro, who, in a short time, and without losing one man, killed a number of the enemy, captured forty ships, and put the rest to flight. Xilimixa then obtained assistance from the King of Prome, and a combined force of 1,200 sail attacked the place by water, whilst 40,000 men beset it by land. Salvador Ribeiro, with a handful of his fellow-countrymen, retired to their fortress, which they defended most heroically. Seeing that the enemy observed no particular order in the attack, Ribeiro made a sally one night, and falling vigorously upon them, he killed their general and put the whole army to flight.

Banadala shortly afterwards again besieged the fort, with an army of 8,000 men, and, having planted his guns, he bombarded the place for a whole day, and in the middle of the night he advanced his men quietly, and made an assault. This attack was resisted with as much vigour as it was given, and the assailants were beaten off, 1,000 dead bodies of the enemy being found in the ditch the next morning. The enemy continued the siege for eight months. Some of the Portuguese garrison deserted, but, in order to prevent others from following their example, Ribeiro burnt all the ships that were in the port.

As soon as the Viceroy heard of what was going on at Siriam he sent reinforcements, on the arrival of which Ribeiro found himself in the command of 800 men, whereupon he determined to assume the offensive. Having made all the necessary arrangements for this purpose, he fell unexpectedly upon the enemy's works, and was met with great bravery, but, after an obstinate struggle, the Portu-

CHAP. VI. guese troops were again victorious, and Banadala's army was forced to fly. Ribeiro then destroyed all the works that had been constructed for the attack.

A.D. 1602. The fort being now relieved from the presence of the enemy, Ribeiro permitted the majority of his troops to disperse themselves for a time, as they might think fit, retaining only 200 within the fortress. Whilst the Portuguese were thus scattered, Banadala again returned to the siege, bringing with him a number of moving castles and several sorts of fireworks. The defenders were reduced to great extremities, and the issue of the contest was extremely doubtful, when a fiery meteor appeared in the heavens, which so frightened the besiegers that they fled, leaving all their castles behind, and these were speedily destroyed by the Portuguese.

Besides this success, Ribeiro also gained a victory over King Massinga, in the province of Camelan (? Kamanlay), in which the King was slain, and great damage done to his country, both by land and sea. Owing to these victories the reputation of the Portuguese was held in high estimation by the people of Pegu, who exhibited the greatest readiness to take employment under them, so that within a short time they could command the services of 20,000 natives. These, in consideration of the success attained by Filippe de Brito e Nicote, and his good temper (on account of which they called him "Changa," or "Good Man"), proclaimed him King. As he was still absent, Salvador Ribeiro accepted the crown in his name, but as soon as he returned Nicote received the kingdom in the name of the King of Spain and Portugal. The command of the fort of Siriam now devolved upon Roderigo Alvares de Sequeira, who successfully held it against all attacks, until it was accidentally burnt, and the bare walls only were left standing.

Nicote appears to have been as successful with the Viceroy as he had been with Xilimixa, and to have exercised a powerful influence over him, so that he not only

complied with every demand Nicote made, but married him to a niece of his who had been born in Goa of a Javanese woman. He also conferred upon him the title of "Commander of Siriam, and General of the Conquests of Pegu." Nicote then returned to Siriam with reinforcements, and six vessels. Having arrived at Siriam he repaired the fort, built a church, and sent a rich present to the King of Arakan, who had sent to compliment him upon his arrival. He then issued orders with regard to the Custom House there, in accordance with instructions he had received from the Viceroy, and under which all vessels trading to the coast of Pegu were required to make their entries there. As certain vessels from the coast of Coromandel refused to obey these orders, Nicote sent Dom Francisco de Moura with six vessels to enforce obedience. This he effectually accomplished, and, besides, captured two ships belonging to Achin, which had rich cargoes on board. Seeing the use that was being made of the Custom House at Siriam, the King of Arakan desired to possess himself of that place and of its revenues, and he induced the King of Taungu to join him in the enterprise. This coming to the knowledge of Nicote, he sent Barthomeu Ferreira, captain of the small vessels, to attack the twenty small *jalias* which had been prepared for this purpose. These he easily defeated and put to flight, whereupon they escaped to the King of Jangona's country. The enemy, exasperated at their defeat, then got together 700 small vessels with 4,000 men, who were placed under the command of the Prince's son, and with him were Ximicolia and Marquetam, sons of the Emperor of Pegu. Paul del Rego Pinheiro was sent out against this force with the boats and seven ships, and having captured ten boats that were in front of the rest, he returned to deposit them in a safe place and then set out again. Finding the enemy too strong for him, he obtained reinforcements, with which he attacked and defeated the enemy, capturing several vessels. The Prince, in his endeavour to

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A.D. 1602.

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escape, ran up a creek, where Pinheiro captured the rest of his fleet, and the Prince fled away overland, having lost 1,000 of his men. Pinheiro then captured the Fort of Chinim, and in it many prisoners, amongst whom was the wife of Banadala.

After this success Nicote took the sea with fourteen small vessels, in which were sixty Portuguese and 200 natives of Pegu; he ran up a river, and hearing that the Prince was on shore with 4,000 men, 900 of whom were musketeers, he determined to attack them. The Prince's troops were defeated and he himself taken prisoner, whereupon 2,000 men were sent to his assistance by the King of Prome, but these also suffered a disastrous defeat, and were forced to retire. After this Nicote was permitted for a time to retain his possession of Siriam in peace.

Having handed over the government of Siriam to Nicote, Salvador Ribeiro de Sousa retired to Portugal, where he is supposed to have passed the remainder of his days at his native village, in the province of Minho. His body lies in the chapter house of a small Franciscan convent near Alemquer, some thirty miles from Lisbon, where an inscription relates his name and history. Portuguese writers call him the Marcus Aurelius of the Decadence of India, and more than one poet has sung his praises.

During the Viceroyalty of Ayres de Saldanha, an expedition set out from India for the discovery of Great Cathay. This was undertaken at the instance of Friar Nicolau Pimentel, Visitor-General of the Jesuits in Asia, and for it he selected B. Benedict Goes, a man well versed in several languages, including the Persian. Goes disguised himself in the habit of an Armenian merchant, and assumed the name of "Abdula Isai." He set out from the Court of the Mughal with certain merchandise belonging to that Prince, on the 6th January, 1603, accompanied by two Greeks, named respectively Leo Grimanus, a priest, and Demetrius, a merchant, both of whom were well accustomed to travelling; they had also with them an

Armenian servant named Isaac. These started from Lahore, and passed through the cities of Attock, Peshawur, Kafiristan, Jigdilik, and Cabul, having endured great hardships and difficulties by the way. At Cabul they were obliged to remain for eight months, and the priest Grimanus, being unequal to the fatigue of the journey, here left the expedition and turned back. From Cabul, the caravan passed the dominions of the Mughal in sight of the cities of Charkar and Parwan;* they then passed the high mountains of Aingaram, and entering Chalca they came across a fair race of people like the Germans. Thence they proceeded through Gialalabat, Thalbam, Quenam, Badakhshan, Carchumar, Serpanil, Sarchunar, Tanguetar, and Jaconich. Two years had by this time been already spent on the journey. From Jaconich they travelled to Hiarcan, the Court of the King of Kashgar, and an important centre of trade. Here they stayed a year waiting for another caravan, and then set out for the kingdom of Chalis, leaving, however, Demetrius behind them, who determined to proceed no farther. In their way thither B. Benedict Goes and Isaac, who now continued the journey together, passed through the towns of Jolchi, Hanchalix, Alchegret, Hagabareth Cambaxi, Aconferset, Chiacor, and Aksu. At this last-named place they were obliged again to stay for some time. Having resumed their journey, the famous desert of Caracatay was passed, and the towns of Oitograck, Gazo, Canani, Delai, Saraguebedal, Ugan, and Cucha; they then came to the city Chalis, on the borders of the territories of the King of Kashgar, where they were in great danger, and stayed for three months. Whilst they were here a caravan came in from Cathay, by whom Goes heard that there was a Friar Mathew Rivius then residing in Pekin, and he also learned that China and Cathay was the same country under

* In the progress beyond Parwan it is difficult to identify many of the places passed by their modern names.

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different names. Goes now determined to proceed on his journey, and passing through the towns of Puchan, Tursan, Arumuth, Camul, and Quiacion—where he saw a part of the famous wall that separates China from Tartary—he arrived at Sü-chou in the latter part of the year 1606. Here Goes disposed of his merchandise for 2,500 crowns. He sent advice of his arrival to Friar Mathew at Pekin, who dispatched to him B. João Fernandez, a novice of the converts, to conduct him to that city. Fernandez arrived at Sü-chou in the latter part of March, 1607, and eleven days after Goes died, as was strongly suspected, from poison administered to him by the Moors, after having robbed him; they also greatly abused Isaac and B. Fernandez, who, having decently buried the deceased, proceeded together to Pekin.

It may be of interest here to relate how the Catholic religion came to be preached in China. It appears that S. Francisco Xaverius, when preaching in the island of Shang-ch'wan, had a great wish to extend his labours to China, but he died before any opportunity occurred for putting that desire into effect, and it was not until the year 1580 that any attempts were made in that direction, when the work was undertaken by Father Alexandrinus de Viliniano, an Italian Jesuit, who held the office of Visitor of that Society in Asia, and had his residence in Japan. The first thing necessary was to acquire a knowledge of the Chinese language, and this preliminary difficulty having been overcome by a few men, one of these, Father Michael Rogerius, a Neapolitan, proceeded to Quangtung, under the pretence of administering the Sacraments to the Portuguese who traded there. Taking advantage of the opportunity, Rogerius succeeded in converting some of the natives, who were afterwards sent to Macao, where, for the better instruction of new converts, a sort of seminary was erected near to the house of the Jesuits in that city. Viliniano now sent Father Mathew Rivius, an Italian, to Macao, to assist Father Michael

Rogerius in his work, and these two together established a confraternity in that city for Japanese and Chinese converts, which they designated "The Sanctuary of Jesus." Other Jesuits subsequently resorted thither, amongst whom was Father Francisco Plasius.

About this time the Viceroy of Ngan-king, having heard of the Catholic religion, and being desirous of obtaining information on the subject, sent to the Bishop and Governor of Macao for this purpose. In reply they dispatched Fathers Rogerius and Mattheus Penela with a present to conciliate his goodwill. After awhile these returned to Macao, but Father Rogerius returned to Ngan-king, accompanied by Father Plasius, taking with them as presents a striking watch and a triangular glass that showed things of several colours. The novelty of these articles so pleased the Viceroy that he gave the Fathers permission to erect a church and a house in the suburbs, and showed them also other favours. Four months afterwards, however, a new Viceroy was appointed to Ngan-king, who was not kindly disposed to the Catholic religion, and the Fathers were consequently obliged to return to Macao, where Plasius died. Later on, the new Viceroy requested that the Fathers might go there again, whereupon Rogerius returned, accompanied by F. Mathew Rivius, but they appear to have been ill-treated, and had to retire once more to Macao without having attained any results. In May, 1583, they were again sent for to Ngan-king, and the same two Fathers arrived there in the following November, where they met with a favourable reception, and had a pleasant place assigned to them in the suburbs to build.

The Fathers, in order the better to assimilate themselves to the customs of the natives of the place, adopted the Chinese form of costume, and used Chinese forms of invocation in their prayers. Many of the better class of people and learned men treated the Fathers and the Catholic religion with the greatest respect for a time,

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1583-94.

making presents to their church, and contributing towards their support. The Ten Commandments and the principles of the Catholic religion were also printed in Chinese and circulated through the province. After awhile, however, these favours gradually fell off, and the Fathers were reduced to great poverty. Father Rogerius went to Macao in order to obtain some assistance, and during his absence the feeling of the Chinese towards the Catholic religion appears to have greatly changed ; slanders were circulated against the Fathers, and stones were often thrown at their house. Father Rivius was arraigned before the Supreme Court on certain charges, which, however, appear not to have been proved, since he was liberated and his accuser was condemned to be flogged. Rivius, being a fair mathematician, constructed some maps of the world, which were the first that had been seen in those parts, and demonstrated to the Chinese the existence of many countries hitherto wholly unknown to them. The novelty of these maps attracted people from distant parts to view them, and to some extent assisted Rivius in his labours.

The success of this mission was now considered to have been so far established that the Visitor Valiniana made it independent of Macao, and subjected it immediately to himself and the Provincial of Japan. Dom Duarte de Menezes, who was then Viceroy, further assisted it by settling an allowance from the Custom House of Malacca upon the Fathers.

Fathers Almeida and Rogerius next went to Che-kiang, to establish a mission there, but after making a few converts they were expelled. Those of Ngan-king were also placed in some difficulty, and it was the general opinion that these missions could not be expected to prosper in China without having first obtained the Emperor's permission for their establishment. To this end, Father Rogerius was dispatched to Rome to obtain a letter and present from the Pope to the Emperor. The death of the Pope

caused this business to be delayed, and Father Rogerius having also died at Salerno, his mission was never accomplished. In the meanwhile the Father at Ngan-king endured great difficulties, and on the appointment of a new Viceroy to that place the Catholics were banished, and all they had was taken from them. But on their way to Macao they were overtaken by fresh orders from the Viceroy, and on their return to Ngan-king they had a place assigned to them to settle at Han-chan. Here they appear to have made many converts. Thence Father Rivius proceeded with a companion to Nanking, where his mission also seems to have been successful.

Up to the year 1594 the Fathers wore their own habits and shaved as in Europe, but after that date they adopted the costume of the native lawyers, for three reasons: first, to avoid being confused with the "Bonzos,"* who dressed like them, and also shaved; secondly, the more readily to gain admittance to magistrates, who familiarly received none without that form of dress; and, thirdly, to please the people.

About the middle of the year 1595 Father Rivius succeeded in establishing a church at Nan-chang, the metropolis of the province Kiang-si, between Nanking and Quangtung. After this the superintendence of all the China Catholic missions was placed in the hands of Father Mathew Rivius. He next established missions at Sü-chou and Nanking. On his way to the latter place he passed through Pekin, and when there endeavoured to obtain an audience with the Emperor, but was unsuccessful. On the 16th May, 1600, Father Rivius again proceeded to Pekin, and on the way thither he was imprisoned at Lin-tsing, but after having being confined for six months was set free by an order from the Emperor, and he arrived at Pekin about the end of the year 1601. Amongst the presents he carried were some clocks, "much admired of the Chinese,

* The Bonzos were a people residing near Hang-chow, forming a religious body of idolaters who had there a huge temple full of idols, and a monastery.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1601-7. for that they move of themselves"; triangular prismatic glasses, and a "harpsical." These were publicly carried to Court, and greatly admired by the Emperor. Shortly afterwards Father Rivius was sent for, and, after an interview with one of the Emperor's eunuchs, he was, by the Emperor's orders, lodged in the palace and liberally entertained. He was subsequently removed to a hired house, where he instructed some men, appointed by the Emperor, in the motion of the clocks, and how to keep them, and he also taught some musicians to play upon the harpsical.

When success in their mission to Pekin seemed to have been almost secured, the Fathers were imprisoned by the Court of Ceremonies for presuming to reside there without having first presented themselves before that tribunal. They were kept in confinement for three days, after which they were liberated because the Emperor had sent for them. They were accordingly conducted to the palace, and although they had been sent for by the Emperor they did not see His Majesty, but, notwithstanding this, they performed all the usual ceremonies to his throne, as though he had been there. Father Rivius was examined by the Supreme President of the Court as to who he was, whence he came, and what he and his companions desired there; his replies were duly communicated to the Emperor, whereupon His Majesty granted the Fathers permission to reside at Pekin, where they appear to have secured the favour of all the courtiers, especially of the Minister of State, and of the Mandarins. Father Rivius was still there when B. Benedict Goes and his American servant, Isaac, arrived at Sü-chou, in the year 1607, having succeeded in the establishment of Catholic missions in China at Kan-chou, Nan-chang, Nanking, and Pekin.

In the spring of 1604, Dom Martim Affonso de Castro left Lisbon with a fleet of five ships, one of which was, however, forced back again by the weather, and he accordingly reached Goa with four only of his vessels. On his arrival he relieved Ayres de Saldanha of the government,

and entered upon the duties of Viceroy at a time when the Portuguese possessions were being seriously menaced by the Dutch.

In the neighbourhood of the Moluccas, the Dutch had now a powerful fleet, and in their contests with the Portuguese they derived valuable aid from the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, who were now thoroughly hostile to the latter, being quite tired out by their insatiable avarice and greed, and they therefore willingly joined these new comers in order to expel them.

Tidore was now also lost to the Portuguese, and their remaining garrison were forced to accept of some vessels from their victors to leave the island. About 400 persons embarked and proceeded to the Philippine Islands, where Dom Pedro da Cunha commanded. In February of the following year (1606) da Cunha set out on an expedition against Ternate, with an army consisting of 1,000 Europeans and 400 native troops. He besieged the fort in which was the King of that island, the armament of which consisted of 100 cannon. The Dutch and native garrison made a sally against the besiegers, expecting to take them by surprise, but they were repulsed by João Rodrigues Camelo with a company of Portuguese, who, following them in their flight, entered the fort with them. After driving them from the fort they were also expelled from the city, which thus again came under the dominion of Spain. Dom Pedro da Cunha then proceeded to Tidore, and, driving the Dutch out from that island also, annexed it once more to the Crown of Spain.

The Dutch now entered into an alliance with several neighbouring Kings, with the view of expelling the Portuguese from Malacca. The combined forces that went against that place consisted of a fleet of 150 sail, in which were 16,000 men. At this time the garrison of Malacca consisted of but little over 100 Portuguese, who were under the command of André Furtado de Mendoça, whilst the fort was wanting in nearly all the necessaries

CHAP VI. A.D. 1606. for withstanding a siege. The besiegers were enabled to take up their positions for an attack on the city without much opposition from the garrison, and soon began a vigorous bombardment from their trenches. The master-gunner in Malacca happened at this time to be a Dutchman, and he not only contrived to keep up a communication with the enemy, but also managed to burst many of the cannon in the fort; a Moor, also, who was in the service of the Portuguese, was detected in certain acts of treachery. On these being found out, they were both hanged over the wall. The siege lasted for four months, during which the enemy are said to have thrown above 50,000 cannon-balls into the city; but at the end of that time, having made but little impression upon the place, and news having reached the enemy that Dom Martim Affonso de Castro, the Viceroy, was on his way thither with twelve galleons, four galleys, and seventy other vessels, the siege was raised, and the enemy retired.

The Viceroy had left Goa in May, 1606, and brought his fleet to an anchor before Achin in the course of the following month, where he captured three of the enemy's ships laden with provisions. He now determined to punish the Achinese for receiving the Dutch into their ports contrary to agreement, and accordingly, on the 29th, he landed, in the face of a strong party of the enemy, whom, after a brave resistance, he forced back into their works. The fight continued two whole days, but at the end of that time, as the Portuguese had gained no apparent advantage over the enemy, the Viceroy withdrew his men and re-embarked. After a stormy passage, in which some vessels were lost, the Viceroy appeared with his fleet before Malacca.

Shortly after his arrival he was attacked, on the 17th August, by eleven Dutch vessels, whereupon a fight ensued, which lasted all day, with about equal loss on both sides, until they were parted by night. The following morning the fight was resumed, and the Dutch vessels

being the larger, and heavier armed, inflicted considerable damage on the Portuguese ships; some vessels on both sides were burnt. The fight lasted altogether for eight days, at the end of which the Portuguese ships were very much disabled, but when, on the 24th August, the Viceroy again offered battle, the Dutch ships declined a renewal of the combat, and sailed away.

After this engagement the Viceroy entered Malacca with his fleet, and found that the city had suffered considerable damage during the recent siege. Thence he dispatched Dom Alvaro de Menezes, with a squadron of seven galleons, to meet the vessels that were expected from Portugal, in the neighbourhood of the Nicobar Islands, whilst Nuno Alvarez Pereira was sent with five others to escort through the Straits of Singapore certain vessels that were expected at Malacca from Java with provisions. The latter, however, having met the enemy's fleet, speedily returned into port.

The Dutch having refitted, and having learned that the Portuguese fleet had been divided, again proceeded to Malacca, where they were met only by Nuno Pereira's five galleons. These they attacked on the 22nd October, and, after a severe fight, in which the Dutch are said to have lost over 500 men, they entirely destroyed the Portuguese fleet, and then retired. Soon after this defeat the Viceroy died at Malacca, killed, it was supposed, by grief for the loss which his fleet had sustained.

The Dutch fleet shortly afterwards met Dom Alvaro de Menezes with his squadron of seven galleons in the bay of Polobutum. These latter, after a hotly-contested fight, were also defeated, and Dom Alvaro was forced to retire after having lost three of his vessels.

In this same year, 1606, the Dutch also had a fleet off Goa, where they remained during the whole season, and so prevented the Portuguese vessels that year from sailing for Lisbon.

Dom Martim Affonso de Castro had held the office of

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1606-7.

Viceroy for two years and a-half at the date of his death. He was succeeded in the government by Dom F. Alexius de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, who, however, did not assume the title of Viceroy, but that of Governor only.

Dom Stephen de Ataide, who was in command of the fort at Mozambique, having assisted the Emperor of Monomotapa to subdue a rebellion in his country, obtained from him a grant to the Crown of Portugal of all the silver mines in his dominions. These might have been developed into a most valuable property, as their wealth was said to be superior to any others in the whole of Asia; proper advantage does not, however, appear to have been taken of the opportunity to obtain from thence, as might unquestionably have been done, additional means for carrying on their foreign enterprises by the Portuguese.

Shortly afterwards, on the 29th March, 1607, Paulus van Caerden, the Dutch Admiral, anchored in the port of Mozambique, having with him eight ships well armed and carrying a force of 1,500 men. At this time there were in the fort only eighty men, and a few inferior pieces of cannon that were scarcely fit for service. With this small force Dom Stephen made all possible preparations for defence, whilst the enemy were making the necessary arrangements for investing the place. When the bombardment commenced the enemy's cannon-balls fell so thickly that Dom Stephen found it necessary to keep the walls clear of men; this naturally emboldened the Dutch, and a colonel of theirs, seeing no one on the battlements, rode carelessly about viewing the works till he met with his death by a bullet. The enemy carried on their approaches under the shelter of their batteries, until at last the Portuguese were forced to show themselves in order to repel them. After awhile the Dutch proposed a truce, which was accepted. While it lasted they reproached the Portuguese with having degenerated from their ancient valour, whereupon Dom Stephen sent a message offering to fight

fifty of the Dutch with twenty-five of his own men, a proposal which was, however, declined. CHAP. VI.

As soon as the truce had expired, the attack commenced again with unabated vigour. The enemy now attempted to raise against the walls some wooden towers, of the same height as the parapets, and advanced them towards the fort on a dark night, but, being detected by the defenders, who attacked them with fireworks, they were forced to retire. The following night, however, the enemy were more successful, and placed their towers close to the walls. Twenty-five Portuguese sallied out with the intention of burning them, but were driven back, having failed in their design, although they killed several of the enemy without loss on their side. After this, for some unexplained cause, the enemy made no further advance for a whole week, notwithstanding that the Portuguese succeeded in burning their towers. At last the Dutch Admiral sent a letter to Dom Stephen, in which he threatened to lay waste all the surrounding country unless it were redeemed with a sum of money. This proposal Dom Stephen declined to accede to, whereupon the Dutch carried out their threat and burnt the whole town. They then cut down all the adjoining woods, and afterwards raised the siege, which had lasted for two months, during which time the Portuguese lost thirteen in killed and the enemy about 300. As they retired over the bar one of the Dutch ships was sunk by the cannon from the fort. A.D. 1607.

No sooner had the enemy retired, in the beginning of June, than three ships from Portugal, under the command of Dom Hierome Coutinho, entered the port; and having relieved the place so far as he was able, set sail again for India. He had scarcely left when, about the end of July, Pieter Willemsz Verhoeven arrived with thirteen Dutch ships and 2,000 men. Imagining that van Caerden was already in possession of the place, he sailed into the port, whereupon the Portuguese undeceived him by saluting his vessels with cannon shot. Pieter Willemsz Verhoeven

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1607-9. at once landed his men, and made preparations to attack the place, and on the first day the batteries were opened he succeeded in making a great breach on one side of the fort, which might have been successfully entered had the enemy at once made an assault. This, however, they neglected to do, and the breach was repaired during the night. The next morning twenty-five men made a sally, killing thirty of the enemy, and all returned safe to the fort, carrying with them arms, drums, and colours. Shortly after this Verhoeven raised the siege and retired, sailing away on the 23rd August for Goa.

At the beginning of the year 1609 Dom João Pereira Frojas, Conde de Feyra, sailed from Lisbon with six vessels, and was proceeding to India to assume the office of Viceroy. He was accompanied by Dom Christovam de Noronha, with eight galleons. These fleets set out on the 29th March, but Dom João was not destined to reach India, for he died on the 15th May, whereupon the command of the fleet devolved upon Dom Christovam de Noronha. The body of the Conde de Feyra was sent back to Lisbon, where it arrived on the 24th July.

The Archbishop, Dom F. Alexius de Menezes, held the government for two years and a-half, and was succeeded as Governor by Andrew Furtado de Mendoça in 1609, who, however, only held that office for a few months until the arrival of Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, who proceeded from Lisbon with five ships at the end of October in that year as Viceroy, in succession to the late Conde de Feyra. Before giving an account of the proceedings of Mendoça and de Tavora it will be necessary to go back a few years, in order to relate the further adventures of Nicote and the proceedings of another Portuguese, by name Sebastião Gonzalez Tibao, in Arakan and Pegu.

It will be remembered that Nicote had taken prisoner the son of Ximilica, King of Arakan. The latter now entered into negotiations with Nicote for his release, whereupon the matter was referred to Goa, and in reply

the Viceroy ordered that the Prince should be set at liberty without ransom. Nicote, however, saw that he could turn this to his own advantage, and demanded 50,000 crowns as the price of his release, under the pretence that this sum was required as a reimbursement of the cost of the fleet which the King's actions had rendered it necessary to be incurred. This proceeding on the part of Nicote caused great offence to the King of Arakan, who now dispatched a small fleet against Seriam, which was, however, easily defeated; the King then, in retaliation, took captive a large number of Catholics, whom he treated with great severity. Shortly afterwards he combined with the King of Taungu, who sent a land force of 10,000 men to besiege Siriam, whilst he also despatched against it a fleet of 800 sail. Paul del Rogo attacked these vessels with eighty ships, but, seeing that he was getting the worse of the engagement, he set fire to the powder-magazine, blowing up the vessel with himself and all others on board, to escape falling into the hands of the enemy. The attack continued for some time, and the Portuguese, being reduced to the greatest extremity, were prepared to surrender the fort when, owing to some unexplained cause, the King of Taungu raised the siege one night and withdrew his forces, whereupon the King of Arakan's fleet also departed.

Owing to the success of Nicote in the defence of Siriam, some of the neighbouring Princes expressed themselves anxious for his friendship, and for an alliance with the King of Portugal; the first to take steps in this matter being the King of Taungu, who had so recently been his enemy, with whom Nicote entered into a treaty of peace. Another Prince with whom he entered into an agreement was the King of Martaban, and, in order to strengthen this alliance, Nicote's son married the King's daughter. After this, the King of Taungu was defeated and made tributary by the King of Ava, whereupon Nicote made this a pretext for violating the treaty he had

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1605-7. so lately made with the former King. With the assistance of the King of Martaban he fitted out an expedition, and, falling upon Taungu, he took the King captive, and then returned to Siriam with his prisoner and above a million of gold he had taken from him. The King protested against this treatment, declaring himself to be still a faithful vassal to the Crown of Portugal; but as Nicote had undertaken this expedition exclusively for the purpose of robbery, he turned a deaf ear to his protestations.

In the year 1605, one Sebastião Gonzales Tibao, a native of the village of S. Antonio del Tojal, near Lisbon, and a man of obscure extraction, embarked for India, and on his arrival there went to Bengal, where he first served as a soldier, but subsequently embarked in the salt trade, by means of which he made sufficient to purchase a *jalia* (a small vessel), in which he carried a cargo of salt to Dianga, a port in the territories of the King of Arakan, where he arrived at a very critical moment, and narrowly escaped with his life.

It appears that Nicote, feeling his position now safe at Siriam, thought to extend his power by also obtaining possession of Dianga; and to this end he fitted out some vessels, and sent his son with them to that port as an ambassador to the King of Arakan in the beginning of the year 1607, to beg that it might be made over to him. Some Portuguese who were living there at the time, not being favourably disposed towards Nicote, persuaded the King that the object for which he desired to obtain possession of that place was that he might ultimately deprive him of his kingdom. The King thereupon desired that Nicote's son should repair to his Court, accompanied by his officers, and on their arrival he had them all murdered. At the same time those who remained in the ships were also killed, as well as about 600 other Portuguese who were peacefully residing at Dianga, wholly unsuspicious of any danger. Some few escaped to the woods, whilst others managed to reach their vessels

and put out to sea, amongst whom was Sebastião Gonzales.

Manoel de Mattos, who had formerly been Commander of Bandel of Dianga, but who had recently died, was also Lord of Sundive Island. On his death, that island had been seized by Fate Khan, a Moor, whom de Mattos had left temporarily in charge of the island during his absence, and who, in order the better to secure his position there, had murdered all the Portuguese that were in it, together with their wives and children, and such of the natives as had embraced the Catholic religion. Fate Khan then collected together a number of Moors and Pathans, with whom he manned a fleet of forty sail.

Sebastião Gonzales, together with those who had escaped at Dianga, having with them ten vessels, turned pirates, and lived by robbing in the ports of Arakan, whence they carried their booty to the King of Batticaloa's ports, with whom they were on friendly terms. Fate Khan determined to put down this set of robbers, and sent out his fleet against them, being so certain of success that he inscribed upon his colours, "Fate Khan, by the grace of God, Lord of Sundiva, shedder of Christian blood, and destroyer of the Portuguese Nation." Fate Khan thought to surprise the fleet of these pirates in a river of the island Xavaspur, but they, having been warned of his approach, were ready to receive him on his arrival. The two fleets engaged, and fought fiercely all night, and by morning Fate Khan's fleet had been entirely destroyed, and every man on board was either killed or taken prisoner, Fate Khan himself being amongst the slain.

Up to the present time these Portuguese appear to have had no recognised leader, but after this engagement they appointed Sebastião Gonzales Tibao as their chief, and it was then resolved that an attempt should be made to gain possession of Sundiva. Other Portuguese from Bengal and neighbouring ports now joined them, and Gonzales also made an arrangement with the King of

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1608-9.

Batticaloa that he should receive half the revenues of the island if he would assist in taking it, and he accordingly sent some ships and 200 horse. By March, 1609, Gonzales found himself in command of over forty sail and 400 Portuguese, with which he proceeded to attack the island. The inhabitants had, however, received timely advice, and were thus enabled to make preparations for a defence, and when the Portuguese arrived they were opposed on landing by a large number of resolute Moors, commanded by Fate Khan's brother. These were speedily driven back, and forced to retire into their fort, where they were besieged for some time. The besiegers were running short of provisions when Gaspar de Pina, Captain of a Spanish vessel, arrived there, and having been induced to render assistance, he landed fifty men during the night, showing a great number of lights, and making a great noise, which caused the defenders to believe that large reinforcements had arrived. The fort was at once assaulted and captured, when all who were found within its walls were put to death. The natives of the island, who had previously been subject to the Portuguese, now offered submission, which, however, Sebastião Gonzales only consented to receive on condition that they should deliver up to him all the strangers that were on the island. Altogether above 1,000 Moors were accordingly brought to him, and as they arrived he ordered their heads to be cut off. Thus Sebastião Gonzales became absolute master of the island, and governed it as an independent Prince.

The principal Portuguese who had assisted in the capture of the island were at first granted lands there, but these Gonzales subsequently took away from them again. Instead of giving the King of Batticaloa half the revenues of the island as had been agreed upon, he made war against him. Gonzales now rapidly increased in wealth and power, and soon found himself in the command of 1,000 Portuguese, 2,000 well-armed natives, 200 horse, and more than eighty vessels provided with good cannon.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1609.

Sundiva was then an important centre of trade, and as many merchants went there, Gonzales erected a Custom House; the neighbouring Kings, astonished at his success, now sought his friendship, which he willingly granted, but from the King of Batticaloa, from whom he had received so many favours, he took the islands of Xavaspur and Patelabanga. He took also lands from other Kings, and soon found himself possessed of vast riches and wielding a power scarcely second to that of many neighbouring Princes.

About this time a quarrel arose between the King of Arakan and his brother Anaporam, because the latter refused to give up a certain elephant that he possessed. The King, finding that he could prevail neither by entreaties nor threats, drove his brother from his kingdom, and took forcible possession of the beast. Anaporam thereupon fled to Sebastião Gonzales for assistance, who accordingly endeavoured to aid him, but soon found that he had not sufficient numbers to oppose so powerful a King, and he accordingly returned to Sundiva, accompanied by Anaporam, who now brought with him his wife, family, treasure, and elephants. Gonzales subsequently married the sister of Anaporam, who had embraced the Catholic religion. Shortly afterwards Anaporam died, and it was strongly suspected that he had been poisoned, for Gonzales immediately seized upon all his treasure, elephants, and goods, giving no portion of them to his widow or son. In order to put a stop to the scandal that immediately spread, Gonzales endeavoured to marry the widow to his brother, Antonio Tibao, who was admiral of his fleet, but this intrigue failed because she could not be persuaded to become a Catholic. After this, Gonzales again attacked the King of Arakan, and his brother Antonio, with only five ships, took 100 vessels belonging to the King. The latter then concluded a peace with Gonzales, who thereupon gave up the widow of Anaporam, and she subsequently married the King of Chittagong.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1609. The Mughal, about this time, contemplated the conquest of the kingdom of Balua, and as this would have brought him into dangerous proximity to Sundiva, Gonzales entered into an arrangement with the King of Arakan to defend that country. The King accordingly took the field, with 80,000 men, most of whom were musqueteers, 10,000 natives of Pegu, who fought with sword and buckler, and 700 elephants loaded with castles and armed men. He also dispatched by sea a fleet of 200 vessels, carrying 4,000 men, which was to join with Gonzales's fleet and be under his command. The arrangement was that Gonzales should prevent the Mughal from passing to the kingdom of Balua until the King of Arakan should have arrived there with his army, and that upon the expulsion of the Mughal, half the kingdom of Balua was to be made over to Gonzales, who gave the King, as hostages for his fleet, a nephew of his own, and the sons of some Portuguese inhabitants of Sundiva.

Gonzales failed to carry out his part of the agreement, and made no efforts to check the progress of the Mughal's army. It was thought either that he had accepted a bribe not to interfere with the advance of the Mughal, or that he had acted thus treacherously to revenge the death of the Portuguese who were slain in Banguel of Dianga. Be this as it may, the King of Arakan had to meet the Mughal's forces single-handed, and succeeded at first in driving them out of Balua; but returning again in greater numbers, they re-entered Balua and completely defeated the King of Arakan, who escaped on an elephant, with only a few followers, to the fort of Chittagong. Gonzales, having taken the combined fleet into a creek of the island Desierta, invited all the captains of the ships belonging to Arakan on board his vessel, and then and there had them murdered, after which he killed or made slaves of all the crews, and having thus got the entire fleet into his possession, he returned to Sundiva. As soon as he heard of the defeat of the Arakanese army,

Gonzales set out with his fleet and destroyed with fire and sword all the forts along the coast of Arakan, taking advantage of the fact that they were unprepared for defence, and would suspect no danger from him in consequence of the peace then existing between the King and himself. He also proceeded up to Arakan, where he caused great destruction, and burnt many ships belonging to different nations, and amongst these the King's yacht, which was a vessel of extraordinary size and exquisite workmanship, besides being decorated in a most costly manner with gold and ivory.

This treachery and insolence on the part of Gonzales greatly enraged the King, who caused a stake to be run through the body of his nephew, whom Gonzales had given as a hostage for the King's fleet, and had the body exposed on a high place below the port of Arakan that his uncle might see him as he went out. After this Gonzales returned to Sundiva utterly discredited and distrusted, both by the Mughal and by the King of Arakan, and harassed with strong forbodings of impending calamity to himself.

Andreu Furtado de Mendoça* assumed the government of India in 1609. He endeared himself to everyone by the extreme simplicity of his manners, and by his courtesy to all with whom he came in contact. He had been but a

* Great expectations were raised when Andreu Furtado de Mandoça assumed the reins of government. He had already greatly distinguished himself in many actions. At the age of sixteen years he accompanied Dom Sebastião to Africa. After that he went to India, and being in command of ten ships, he relieved the fort of Barçelor, which was then being besieged by King Sincarnoboro. He took many ships of Mecca; defeated the great General Contimuza; destroyed another fleet at Manar, taking many ships; he slew the King of Jafanapatam who had risen in rebellion, and destroyed a Malabar fleet that was doing the Portuguese shipping much harm in those seas; he raised the siege of Colombo by Raja Singha; destroyed the fort of Kunhale, taking that pirate and his nephew prisoners to Goa; drove the Dutch out of the islands of Amboina and Sunda; captured several strongholds in the islands of Ibo, Nao, and Veranula, and being Commander of Malacca, held out a siege of four months against the Dutch and eleven neighbouring Kings. His government of India lasted only three months. He embarked for Portugal after the arrival of his successor, and died by the way of jaundice. His body was carried to Lisbon and buried in the Church of "Our Lady of Grace."

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1608-10.

short time in office when on the 1st September there appeared on the horizon a large number of seemingly big vessels which it was supposed were the Dutch fleet. Andreu Furtado had already prepared a number of vessels, which were fully equipped and well manned, ready for any occasion that might arise, and as soon as this large fleet was seen to be approaching he ran to the shore, and in a few hours had some of them ready. He was preparing hastily to embark, and remarked "Now shall they see how Andreu Furtado, with these light vessels, boards their three-deck ships. The time is come." Numbers rushed to join the Governor in this expected enterprise, but just as they were spreading sail to start, the news was brought that the approaching vessels were no enemies, but ships from Portugal that formed the escort of Ruy Lorenço de Tavora, the new Viceroy.

Ruy Lorenço de Tavora sailed from Lisbon at the end of October, 1608, with four galleons and a caravel, and passed the winter in the island of Ibo. Soon after his disembarkation at Goa, another fleet of five vessels, under Dom Manoel de Menezes, came into port, and early in the following year (1610) three more under Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos arrived, so that he was provided with a more numerous fleet than usual, and thanks to the foresight of his predecessor, better equipped and manned than had been formerly customary.

The most important event at the present time was the conquest of Kandy by Dom Hierome de Azevedo, who was then in command at Colombo. He marched with 700 Portuguese and 25,000 Lascarines (Cingalese soldiers) to Kandy, and coming to the fort of Balane, which had been abandoned, he took possession of it, and gave it into the charge of Antonio de Costa Monteyro, with two companies of troops. Proceeding onwards, he came to the river of Kandy, which he found strongly occupied and fortified. In attempting to pass the river, his men were met by a

heavy fire from the enemy, and they began to give way until F. Gaspar de la Madalena, a Franciscan monk, rushed into the river, holding up a crucifix, and calling upon the men to follow. Urged on now by religious enthusiasm and excitement, they rushed to the charge, and speedily drove the enemy from their works, who then fled to the mountains, and made no attempt at the defence of the city. Kandy was then taken and burnt; the retreating army was also pursued for some distance, and many of those in the rear were slain. After this defeat the King of Kandy submitted himself to the Portuguese, and placed his two sons in the hands of some Franciscan monks to be brought up as Catholics. A treaty was then concluded with the King, and in a letter which he addressed to Dom Philip he complimented him upon his accession to the Crown, and expressed a desire to be esteemed worthy of a place amongst those Princes of Asia whom Dom Philip honoured with his correspondence.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 1610.

In India, troubles now began to fall upon the Portuguese. At Chaul, the Moor Abdala Carima, Thanadar of Nizamaluco, who bore an enmity against the Portuguese on account of his having lost half a hand through them, behaved towards them with such insolence that the commander of the fort there, Dom Francisco Rolim, complained to the Nizamaluco. This complaint, however, was answered by a threat to fit out a fleet against them, accompanied by a reminder that the Dutch were already in those seas. This was no empty threat, for he immediately despatched thirty paraos, which preyed upon and robbed all that came in their way belonging to the Portuguese. The Thanadar, being thus supported, thought it safe to proceed still further, and having been informed that Jorge Henrique had gone out into the wood, he followed after and killed him, taking possession of his wife and two daughters.

This act of violence stirred up the people of Chaul, who

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A.D. 1610.

now urged Rolim to take active steps for avenging the affront. He evinced some reluctance in commencing a war, as he held no instructions from the Viceroy to that effect, and had with him, besides, but few men. He, however, yielded so far as to send out two officers with sixteen men one night, who discovered thirty Moors near the pagoda of Ramaçeyra, of whom they killed half, and then retired. Pedro Cornejo, with thirty men, also fell upon the village of Tal, and, having killed the inhabitants, they burned the houses and sank two vessels that were in the port. In order, however, to prevent further aggressive action on the part of Abdala Carima, it was considered desirable to inflict some personal punishment upon him; and accordingly Dom Francisco Rolim marched to Upper Chaul with 350 men in three bodies, one led by himself, another by Michael de Abreu, and the third by Calleyros. Abreu entered first into a narrow street, which led to an open place where the enemy was drawn up, who, with their first fire, killed Abreu and two soldiers. Rolim then coming up forced his way into the open space, and, falling upon the enemy, killed a large number of them and put the rest to flight. Upon arriving at Abdala Carima's house, which was deserted, it was immediately burnt, and the same fate befel an entire street where the Moors were firing upon the Portuguese from the windows. Upon leaving the town, Rolim devastated the surrounding country, killing everyone he met, and destroying all that had life.

A war was thus commenced at Chaul, and both sides, in preparation for a struggle on a larger scale, increased their respective forces. Several skirmishes took place, in which the Portuguese claim to have had the advantage; but presently Dom Francisco de Sotomayor arrived with the northern fleet, and left three vessels there to strengthen the place. With this reinforcement Rolim took the field and marched against the Moors. Antonio Furtado de Mendoça went forward, accompanied by two men, to

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inspect the enemy's position, and, having proceeded too far, he was killed; the main body of the Portuguese then advanced, and falling into an ambush, suffered heavily, and were forced to retire. In this engagement Gonzalo de Abreu was killed.

CHAPTER VII.

Arrival of Sir E. Middleton off Surat—His Landing Obstructed by the Portuguese—Capture of a Portuguese Vessel by the English—Engagement between the English and Portuguese off Surat—Dispatch of Reinforcements to Malacca—Dom Hierome de Azevedo appointed Viceroy—Arrival of Antonio Pinto de Fonseca as "Visitor and Proveditor of the Forts in India"—Return of the Persian Ambassador from Spain—Foral of Ceylon—The Commander of the Fort Caranja Murdered by the Moors—Siege of Agashi and Manora—Siriam Besieged by the King of Ava and Captured—Nicote made Prisoner and Impaled—Siege of Daman by the Mughal—Attack on Bandel by the Shah of Persia—Repulse of the Portuguese before Por—Siege of Bassein and Manora—Defeat of the Enemy—Advance of the Mughal against Daman—Repulse of the Enemy—Dispatch of an Ambassador to the Adil Khan—Cranganor Attacked and Relieved—Violent Behaviour of the Portuguese in Ceylon—State of the Portuguese at Mombassa—Preparation of a Portuguese Fleet against the Dutch and English—Engagement with the English off Swally—Defeat of the Portuguese—The Fort of Kamoran Besieged by the Shah Abbas—Kamoran Captured by the Persians—Disordered State of the Internal Affairs of the Portuguese in India—Appointments put up to Sale—Treaty with the Mughal—Spanish and Portuguese Forces Unite to Drive Out the Dutch—Fight with an Achinese Fleet—Defeat of the Portuguese by a Dutch Fleet off Malacca—Treaty with King Choutia at Daman—Incursions into the Territories of Kandy—The Viceroy sends aid to Tibao at Sundiva—Capture of Sundiva by the King of Arakan.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 1611.

On the 26th September, 1611, Sir Henry Middleton, who commanded the sixth voyage of the London East India Company, anchored off the bar of Surat, but was so closely watched by the Portuguese fleet that he was unable to communicate with the shore, and neither letters nor provisions could approach his ships. Strict orders had been given to Sir Henry that he was to offer no violence to the Portuguese unless they were the assailants, and up to the

present time no collision had taken place between the representatives of the two nations in India. Emboldened by this impunity, the Portuguese frigates used to run very close to the English ships, on which a careful watch had to be kept at night against any attempt to surprise the smaller vessels. At length Sir Henry Middleton sent by a native boat a letter to the Captain-Major of the Portuguese fleet, which contained a caveat against breaking the peace between their respective Princes, and gave the reasons for his being there. To this no answer was returned. The Captain-Major, however, subsequently offered to accompany Sir Henry to Goa to learn the Viceroy's pleasure, without which, he declared, he could permit no business to be transacted. In reply Sir Henry requested that if the Captain-Major could not allow him to trade there, he would at least permit Captain Sharpeigh and his companions, who had arrived at Surat from Agra, to join the ship "Trade's Increase." This, however, he refused to do, but offered to carry them to Goa, whence they would be sent back to England.

As no fresh provisions could be procured, owing to the watchfulness of the Portuguese, for want of which many men on board the English vessels had fallen ill, Sir Henry Middleton sent instructions to Captain Sharpeigh to dispatch some to the fleet at all risks. This he accordingly attempted, but the boat was captured by the Portuguese, and the Captain-Major "in scoffe sent presently thanks unto Captain Sharpeigh for his care of him in sending him victuals for his supply." *

On the 12th October Sir Henry Middleton made another attempt to discover a place where his ships could be brought sufficiently close to the shore to command the landing-place with their guns. For this purpose the vessels stood in towards the land; the smaller ones, with their boats ahead taking soundings, being in advance,

* *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt., to the East Indies.—Hakluyt Society.*

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1612.

while the Portuguese frigates kept always in-shore of them. Some of the Portuguese vessels made an attempt to cut off a boat belonging to the "Darling," whereupon the master of that vessel opened fire on them. Upon this the crew of one frigate, seeing the shot falling around them, ran their boat ashore, and although the other frigates at first made an attempt at rescue, they failed to effect that object, and the vessel was taken as a prize by the English.

On the 29th November, 1612, another engagement took place between the Portuguese and English fleets off Surat. The English had received advice of the approach of a fleet, and had therefore prepared themselves for an engagement. In the evening of that day, four galleons arrived off that coast from Goa, accompanied by twenty-four frigates, under the command of Nuno da Cunha, and advanced towards the English fleet, which also went to meet them. The first encounter took place between two of the Portuguese galleons and the English ship "Dragon," which discharged several shots at each other until obliged to desist owing to the darkness of night. They then anchored in sight of one another until daybreak, when, the other ships having come up on either side, the engagement was renewed. Three of the Portuguese galleons were driven on to the sand, but were got off again by the frigates as the flood-tide rose in the afternoon, when the fleets again fought for some four hours, after which they were once more obliged to desist at nightfall. On the third day all the galleons prepared to board the English vessels, but the latter set sail and departed.

Nuno da Cunha, having heard that the English fleet was at Castelete, followed it there, and the fight was renewed for two whole days, during which time the Portuguese vessels were unable to come to close quarters to board the enemy. The English fleet, after awhile, sailed away, hoisting the black flag to show that their captain had been killed, and went to Surat.

A.D. 1612

Advice having been received from Portugal that the Dutch were fitting out a considerable fleet in Holland for an attack on Malacca, the Viceroy sent Diogo de Mendoça Furtado with eight galleons to reinforce that place. On the way thither a Javanese ship, which was trading with Quedar, was attacked and taken. Diogo de Mendoça then proceeded to Pahang for some Princes of Borneo who were travelling, and took them to Malacca. Here he placed Manoel Mascarenhas in command, and then passed over to Pera, where he had heard there were some richly-laden ships from Guzerat, and, on the plea that by trading at that port they deprived Malacca of its just Customs dues, he attacked them. One of these was burnt, a second one captured, and the third was allowed to get away owing to want of vigilance on the part of the Portuguese, who were too busy over the plunder to notice its escape. The captured vessel was taken to Malacca, and Diogo de Mendoça Furtado then returned to Goa.

On the 11th March of the last-mentioned year, the Dutch entered into a formal alliance with the King of Kandy, in accordance with which the former were to be allowed to build a fortress at Kottiyar, and each party agreed to help the other against their enemies, especially the Portuguese. Two Dutchmen were always to be on the King's Council, for the purpose of deciding all affairs relating to war. The Dutch were to enjoy full freedom of trade throughout Ceylon, and the King undertook to supply them with as much cinnamon as he could gather.

At the end of the year 1612 three vessels arrived at Goa, from Lisbon, in one of which orders were conveyed that Dom Hierome de Azevedo should succeed Ruy Lourenço de Tavora as Viceroy, who had now held that appointment for three years. Dom Hierome was at the time in Ceylon, but he at once proceeded to Goa, and took over the sword of office on the 24th December. In October of the same year two caravels sailed from Lisbon for India, and in November one galleon, in which was Antonio Pinto de

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1612-13.

Fonseca, who was sent out as "Visitor and Proveditor of the Forts in India," and in December another galleon was sent out.

The first act of the new Viceroy was to issue an order prohibiting the payment of any debts contracted by his predecessor, who, however, refused to leave India until arrangements should have been made for their being fully discharged. This was most important, not only for the honour of de Tavora himself, but in the interests of the State, since had these debts, which had been incurred solely for the service of the Government, been repudiated, it would have been impossible for any future Viceroy to raise funds for a similar purpose thereafter. Ultimately this unjust order was rescinded, and due arrangements made for the payment of the public obligations incurred by de Tavora.

Danisbeque Sedefable, an ambassador from the Shah of Persia, who had been deputed by his master to Philip II., had now returned to Goa, bringing with him an unsatisfactory reply to his mission. King Philip had sent him away with some handsome and valuable presents, to which the Viceroy added some spice to the worth of 12,000 crowns. Having given Danisbeque a brilliant entertainment, Dom Hierome sent him forward to his destination, accompanied by D. F. de Gouvea, Bishop of Sirene, who had also come from Spain with the intention of propagating the Catholic religion in Persia; but as he found the Persians exhibited no friendly disposition towards him, and fearing that their animosity might be intensified so soon as the ambassador should have delivered his reply, de Gouvea proceeded no further than Ormuz. By this means he no doubt saved his own life, for as soon as the Shah learned the reply of King Philip, he caused the ambassador to be executed, and obliged 6,000 Armenians to renounce their religion.

Dom Henrique de Noronha, who was now in command of the Malabar coast, fearing some trouble with Ventapanaique, in whose dominions the Portuguese held

Barcelor and Onor, brought about an alliance between the Kings of Vanguel, Sierra, and Carnate, against Ventapanaique, ostensibly for their own safety, but really for the better protection of the Portuguese possessions in their vicinity. André Coelho, who had been sent by the Viceroy with three ships to relieve Paliacate and Siriam, was driven by stress of weather to Colombo, where his vessels ran on the rocks and became complete wrecks, but the crews were all saved.

When Dom Hierome de Azevedo went from Ceylon to take up the appointment of Viceroy, he handed over the principal command of the island to Dom Francisco de Menezes Rojo, the reputed son of Dom Diogo, Conde de Ericeyra, and a man who had already greatly distinguished himself by his valour, and thereby attained to the highest preferments. At this time the King of Kandy was besieging the fort of Balane, where Manoel Falcam was in command, and the place was in great danger of being captured. Thereupon Rojo immediately set out with a few men, calling upon others to follow, and after a march of three days reached Balane, and obliged the King to raise the siege. He then retired to Colombo.

Soon after the Portuguese had assumed nominal authority over the island of Ceylon, a systematic settlement was made of the revenues, and all Imperial taxes were required to be paid into the Royal Treasury. The general principles of the assessment were as follows:—The land tax was usually calculated at the rate of twelve per cent. of the gross produce, of which one-third was required to be paid in pepper, and two-thirds in money. Besides this assessment, the tenant of each holding appraised at fifty pardaos* was bound to have one gun or musket, to be available for the service of the State, and those possessing holdings assessed at from fifty to 100 pardaos were to have one gun and one bow, with a proper supply of arrows. From 100 pardaos upwards,

* The pardao is supposed to have been worth about 4s. 2d. to 4s. 6d.

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A.D. 1612-13.

one gun and one bow extra were required to be provided for every additional 100 pardaos. All lands valued at less than fifty pardaos had to provide one lance. Whenever the soil was favourable to their growth, pepper-trees had to be cultivated under pain of loss of tenancy. The working of quarries in the district of Dinavaca was limited to four months, from the 1st January to the end of April in each year, and then it was only permitted to be carried on in the presence of a "viduna" (or overseer) and an assistant, who had to enter in a register the precious stones (catseyes and sapphires) as they were discovered. The stones were then taxed according to their weight and estimated value. Potters had to pay a tax called "bada," and were compelled to make tiles for State works. Revenue was also obtained from the "marallas," a very ancient royal tax, claimed by Kings on the death of anyone. It consisted of one-third part of the personal property of the deceased.

Elephant-hunting was considered the most important thing, after cinnamon, in Ceylon, and both were claimed as royal properties, and forbidden without a licence. The right of elephant-hunting in one part of the island, consisting of forty-four villages, which had from time immemorial been held under native Kings by a certain caste of elephant-hunters, was continued to them in consideration of an annual tribute of thirty elephants' heads with tusks, otherwise called "royal elephants."

All imports and exports at the several ports had to pay a Customs duty at the rate of seven per cent. *ad valorem.*

Trouble was now again caused by the Thanadar of Chaul who, in revenge for the losses he had brought upon himself from the Portuguese in the preceding year, hired some Moors, who lived in Caranja, and were on terms of intimacy with the Portuguese there, to kill Balthasar Rabello de Almeida, the commander of that fort. The assassins, guided by Melique, surprised him whilst at supper, and, having killed him and his sister-in-law, they shut them-

selves in the fort; but the Portuguese, having forced the gates, put them all to the sword. After this Abascan, a general of the enemy, marched a body of men to Caranja to avenge the death of the conspirators; the Portuguese were unable to prevent them from entering the town, where they scattered themselves, and set to indiscriminate plundering and murder. Seeing that they were under no discipline, Simão Rangel, with seventeen Portuguese, suddenly fell upon these Moors, and Ferdinão de Sampayo e Cunha, who was now in command, coming up from another direction, also with a few men, the enemy were completely defeated, and great numbers were killed. After this, Cunha ravaged their country, capturing 3,000 prisoners. The Nizamaluco, seeing the Portuguese engaged in this contest, thought to further embarrass them by spreading the war as far as Salsette and Agashi, whereupon Ruy Freire de Andrade, who was cruising off the coast with a squadron, proceeded in that direction. Coming upon some Moors in a village between Caranja and Thana, he killed a number, and put the rest to flight. From Thana he sent some ships to relieve Agashi, which, being besieged by the Moors, was in great danger, not only on account of the enemy, but also in consequence of internal dissension amongst the inhabitants. The defenders of Agashi, being attacked by 2,000 Moors, were driven to take refuge in the monastery of *S. Francisco*, whereupon Freire de Andrade embarked all the women and children, and carried them to Bassein.

The fort of Manora was also standing a siege from the enemy. Thither Freire de Andrade next proceeded, and, cutting his way through a large number who opposed him, succeeded in reaching the fort. Having driven off the besiegers, he then returned to Thana.

Melique having dispatched more troops against Agashi, the Portuguese there were in great danger, whereupon Friere de Andrade was obliged to return to their assistance, and, having brought off such as still remained, he carried

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1613.

them to Bassein. Here he landed, and being joined by the commander of the fort and men of the northern and Diu fleets, pursued a body of Moors, and drove them away from the vicinity of that place.

The necessities of Daman now called for Friere de Andrade's presence in that quarter. It appears that the King of Sarceta had sent out parties of horse and foot, which destroyed or carried away all they found in the neighbouring villages. Freire de Andrade, with about 200 men from Daman, Mahim, and Trapor fell suddenly upon 600 of the enemy before daylight, when they were all asleep, and, having killed a large number, retired with a considerable amount of booty, destroying all he could not take away. The Portuguese were followed in their retreat by some 700 of the enemy, but they succeeded in getting into Daman in good order.

Melique continued to grow in power, and in May, 1613, Nuno de Cunha, having sailed from Goa for Bassein, with thirteen ships and 400 picked troops, to succeed Ruy Dias de Sampayo as Admiral of the North Sea, came to the city of Galiana, where the enemy were in some force. Having landed some men, they entered the enemy's works, where they captured some cannon and killed a number of men. They then returned to the ships, having lost only one of their number in the encounter.

The fortunes of the Portuguese in Pegu were now rapidly on the wane. The violence that Philip de Brito e Nicote had committed on the King of Taungu greatly enraged the King of Ava, whose vassal the latter was, and he solemnly vowed to be revenged of that offence before he would again enter within his gates. He accordingly, in 1613, marched an army against Siriam, consisting of 120,000 men, which was supported by a fleet of 400 vessels, carrying 6,000 picked Moorish warriors. Nicote was at this time quite unprepared for defence; he had permitted most of his men to go to India, and was, besides, very scarce of powder. To remedy the latter evil,

he sent a soldier to Bengal to purchase some powder, but he ran away with the money. He then sent to S. Thomé for a supply, but was unsuccessful in procuring any. Added to these difficulties, those few Portuguese who were with him committed such outrages, robberies, and murders, as added very materially to the difficulties of his situation.

Nicote had with him in Siriam only 100 Portuguese and 3,000 natives. In the absence of powder, the cannon in the forts could not be fired, and the defenders resorted therefore to pouring boiling pitch and oil on the enemy. Three vessels were sent out against the King of Ava's fleet, in one of which all the men were slain, and the other two returned with everyone on board wounded. The enemy then began to undermine the works, to which the garrison were able to offer but little resistance. After the siege had lasted thirty-four days, Nicote sent to beg for mercy, but his request was unheeded, as the King of Ava was determined to visit him with an exemplary punishment. Being in this extremity, he sent to the King of Arakan for aid, and he dispatched fifty vessels to his assistance, but they were all captured by the besiegers.

At last the King of Ava made an assault upon the fortress, which was vigorously defended by the little garrison, but, after three days' incessant fighting, the place was captured, after 700 of the defenders had been slain, owing, it is said, to the treachery of one Banna, whom Nicote had always treated with the greatest distinction. Nicote was taken and carried before the King, who ordered him to be impaled and set up on an eminence above the fort, "that he might the better look to it," as the King said. He lived two days in this condition, during which he had plenty of time to reflect upon his past villainies before death put an end to his sufferings. His wife was ordered to be sent to Ava as a slave.

Francisco Mendez and a nephew of his were treated in the same manner as Nicote, and impaled. Banna, who demanded a reward from the King for his treachery, was

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torn to pieces, the King remarking that he could never be true to him who had betrayed the man by whom he had been so honoured. At first the King of Ava had intended to have killed all the inhabitants of the place, but he subsequently relented, and sent the survivors as slaves to Ava. On his way from Siriam, the King passed by Martaban, and obliged the King of that place to kill his own daughter's husband, because he was the son of Nicote, so that none of his race might be left alive.

As soon as the Viceroy heard of the siege of Siriam, he dispatched Diogo de Mendoça Furtado, with five galliots, to its relief. When these arrived at Martaban, they found a fleet of twenty sail in the river, which, after a sharp engagement, fled, with the exception of four, which were taken. From those on board these captured vessels, Furtado learned of the fate of Siriam, which had already fallen, and he therefore proceeded no further.

Not long before the occurrence of these events, João Cayado de Gamboa set out from Goa with three galleons to join Michael de Sousa Pimentel, who was in the China seas with four ships, with the view of protecting the Portuguese trade in China against the Dutch, who were now very strong in those parts. One of the three galleons was cast away near Shang-ch'wan, sixty leagues from Macao, the sea being excessively tempestuous at the time, only eighty of the crew were saved, and 200 were lost, of whom about sixty were Portuguese. These subsequently found their way to Macao, where the other two galleons had already arrived safely.

Towards the end of the year 1613, Luiz de Brito e Mello captured off Surat a ship from Mecca belonging to the Mughal, which carried a very rich cargo, and took her into Goa. This so enraged the Mughal that he besieged Daman and laid waste all the surrounding country. The King of Deccan also, at the instigation of the Mughal, laid siege to Chaul and Bassein, hoping to drive the Portuguese entirely out of Asia.

Dom Luiz da Gama, who was now at Ormuz, gave great offence to the Persians on the mainland, who, in consequence, sent a fleet of 300 barques to capture the port of Bandel, with the view of cutting off the water supply of Ormuz. Ferdinão da Silva, the admiral at that station, went to disperse them, but during the engagement that ensued the powder magazine took fire and his ship was blown up. Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira succeeded him, and drove off the Persians with considerable slaughter. The Shah of Persia excused himself to the Viceroy for this matter, alleging that the attempt had been made only by the Sultan of Lara, and not with his authority.

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At Malacca this year Francisco Lopez Callegros captured a Dutch pink that had taken a rich Portuguese ship.

Great disappointment was caused at Goa when it was learned that four vessels that had been sent out to reinforce the Portuguese in India, and assist them in opposing the English and Dutch, had been forced back to Lisbon five months after they had started.

Dom Hierome de Almeida returning home with the preceding year's ships, met four large Dutch ships near St. Helena. A fight ensued, in which the Dutch admiral's ship was sunk.

The King of Ava, having succeeded in defeating the Portuguese at Siriam, now thought to make himself master of all the neighbouring country. He caused himself to be crowned at Bagou, and sent his brother, with an army of 50,000, against the King of Tavoy, whom he defeated and made tributary. The King's brother then proceeded to Tenasserim, with a view to making the King of that place also tributary, and attacked it by land and sea. Christovam Rabello, who had fled from Cochin, on account of some crime he had committed, being at this time at Tenasserim, he threw himself into the cause of that King, and with only four galliots,

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manned by forty Portuguese and seventy slaves, he attacked the King of Ava's fleet of 500 sail, and put it to flight, after having burnt several of his vessels and slain some 2,000 men. In consequence of this action, the King of Siam, to whom the town of Tenasserim belonged, in recognition of the services rendered by the Portuguese, gave them permission to erect a fort in any part of his kingdom they might select. In addition to this, the King sent for Diogo de Medoça Furtado, who was in the vicinity with his squadron, and offered him the title of an earl, with a suitable revenue. Owing, however, to the numerous affairs elsewhere on hand, these offers could not then be accepted. Furtado sailed thence for Malacca, and on his way destroyed the towns of Quedah and Parles with fire and sword.

Dom Diogo de Vasconcellos now sailed from Goa with a squadron for the north consisting of seventeen sail, and calling in at Chaul, he embarked Dom Manoel de Azevedo for Diu, of which place he had been appointed commander. By the way he landed at the mouth of the River Sifardam, in the territories belonging to Melique, and destroyed a town on its banks.

Upon arrival at Diu, Azevedo seized upon the goods of his predecessor, Sebastião de Macedo, on account of certain moneys for which he was indebted to the State. Next he made preparations for a descent upon Por, to punish the people of that place for the damage that the trade of Diu had sustained through their actions. Gaspar de Mello e Sampayo joined this expedition with his fleet, which he had great difficulty in bringing up to the city, as it was situated on a narrow creek, along which the vessels could only proceed in single file. In their progress through the creek the enemy attacked the vessels with showers of bullets and arrows, and killed eighteen of the crews. On arriving before Por the place was at once attacked, and a breach having been made in its walls, the assault was given by two parties, one of

whom entered at the breach, and the other scaled the wall on the opposite side of the town. After some severe street fighting the enemy were driven back. Some fled from the town, others retired into a fort in the centre, and a number were killed.

Those in the fort offered 40,000 crowns if the Portuguese would not bombard it, but this was declined, and the attack continued. In this, however, the Portuguese were unsuccessful, and suffered a repulse, whereupon, having raised the siege, they first plundered the town and then burnt it. It is stated that in this attack 1,000 of the enemy were killed, and 300 taken prisoners.

Diogo de Vasconcellos, upon leaving Diu, sailed with nine ships to the mouth of the river of Agashi, where he was attacked by sixteen paraos from Malabar. Without the loss of one man Vasconcellos slew a number of the enemy, took several prisoners, and captured all the paraos.

Dom Manoel de Azevedo was succeeded in the command of Chaul by Ruy Freire de Andrade, who had previously been in command of Daman. As the country round Chaul was wholly hostile to the Portuguese, Andrade was instructed to take all necessary steps for improving the fortifications of the place; but, there being only a few men in the fort, he was to make no attempt to attack the enemy. He accordingly erected new works of defence, and, having trained a number of Camponeses he ventured out against the enemy, upon whom he inflicted severe loss, and forced them to withdraw.

Bassein was now also besieged, and Gaspar de Mello, who was in command of the northern squadron, consisting of sixteen sail, thereupon proceeded thither, and with his aid the enemy were forced to retire with considerable loss after a whole day's severe fighting, in which the Portuguese did not lose a single man.

Bassein being thus relieved, Gaspar de Mello proceeded to the fort of Manora, four leagues from the mouth of the river of Agashi, which was sustaining a siege by the

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Decariis. His principal force consisted of 700 Portuguese. On arriving at Manora, Gaspar de Mello went out one night to view the enemy's camp, and found them in much greater force than he had expected. On his return he represented them to be much less numerous than they really were, and leading his men against them before daybreak, he took the enemy by surprise, killing many, and the rest not being able to discover how few were their assailants, fled in a panic. Thus the siege of Manora was raised without the loss of a single man.

From Manora, Gaspar de Mello went to Daman, which was again being attacked by the King of Sarceta, and having assisted in relieving that place, his men drove the enemy in front of them, and cut down some of their woods and orchards without opposition. Thence de Mello returned to Chaul, and joining his men with those of Ruy Freire de Andrade, they marched to Upper Chaul to destroy a wood near that place. Here they were met by a number of the enemy, and an obstinate fight ensued, from which, however, the Portuguese returned again victorious.

Gaspar de Mello then proceeded again to Bassein, where he joined Pinto de Fonseca in an expedition to relieve the fort of Assarim, situated at the top of a high mountain. This was effectually accomplished, and 200 wagon loads were successfully conducted into the place, although the surrounding country was swarming with enemies. At Coche, however, the Portuguese suffered a reverse. Francisco Sodre, having been sent out from Diu against the Resbutos, with 300 men in thirteen ships, exhibited so much want of military skill, that he was repulsed and forced to retire in haste to his ships.

The Mughal's forces now began to attack the Portuguese possessions, and Cojenitamo, the Commander of Surat, with 800 horse and some elephants, suddenly appeared in the neighbourhood of Daman, over-running the country and burning villages. A small party of Portuguese endeavoured to check their progress, but, being drawn into

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an ambush, were all killed. Fresh forces then joined the enemy, who advanced against Daman; but at this juncture, Luiz de Brito e Mello arrived with his squadron of fourteen vessels and 350 soldiers. The latter were speedily landed, and being joined by 200 of the Daman garrison, seventy horse and over 1,000 native troops, they proceeded against the enemy, who, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, were forced to retire with a loss of 400 men, amongst whom was Dalapute Rao, their commander-in-chief, and two elephants. Luiz de Brito pursued them as far as Broach, and entering that port he burnt the town and all the vessels he found there.

On his return from Broach, Luiz de Brito attacked Barbute, a city belonging to the Resbuto, which, after a hard fight, wherein the enemy lost 450 men, was taken and burnt.

Luiz de Brito e Mello then went to Bassein, where he met Dom João de Almeida, Admiral of the Diu squadron. With these reinforcements Antonio Pinto de Fonseca, who commanded there, resolved to make an attack upon the enemy's camp. The Portuguese force consisted of 1,500 men, whilst the enemy numbered 1,000 horse and 1,500 foot, within well-formed entrenchments. The Portuguese intended to fall upon the enemy by surprise, but they, having received intelligence of this fact from some traitors within the city, were prepared to meet the assault. The trenches were, however, successfully forced, with but slight loss to the Portuguese. The majority of the enemy were slain, and it is said that only 500 of them escaped. By this action the neighbouring country and the island of Salsette were relieved of the enemy, who had been infesting it for the preceding two years.

The Viceroy was now obliged seriously to look matters in the face, and to consider the position of the Portuguese in India, in the face of the simultaneous opposition to them of the Mughal, and of Xarife Melique, the Commander of Ponda; he had also good grounds for suspect-

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ing that the Adil Khan was really supporting Melique. Dom Hierome therefore sent Antonio Monteiro Corte Real as an ambassador with a present to Adil Khan, and also another for his favourite. Antonio Monteiro proceeded therefore to Vizapor, and demanded of the Adil Khan that Melique should be imprisoned at Ponda; and that the Dutch, who had been attempting to establish a factory at Vizapor, should be expelled. Owing to the assistance of Vicente Ribeiro, a Portuguese, who resided there and had considerable interest with the favourite, these demands were both acceded to.

The Zamorin had, about this time, possessed himself of the kingdom of Upper Cranganor, and was desirous of adding to this the town of Cranganor, which was in the possession of the Portuguese, and had besides within its walls the pagoda in which the former Kings of Malabar used to be crowned. To add to the difficulties of the situation, the King of the small island of Paru, relying upon his friendship with the Zamorin, commenced a series of attacks upon the Portuguese shipping in the rivers between Cochin and Paliporto, to which it was believed he had been led at the instigation of the King of Cochin, who was not himself, at the present time, on very friendly terms with the Portuguese. The Viceroy sent Dom Lopo de Almeida with one galley and ten ships to relieve Cranganor. He first attacked the King of Paru, and speedily reducing him to submission, obliged him to conclude a peace. An embassy, with presents, was then sent to the King of Cochin and to the Zamorin, who received the presents, but evaded entering into any agreement with the Portuguese.

Manoel Mascarenhas Homem being sent to succeed Dom Francisco de Menezes Rojo as Commandant in Ceylon, received strict orders to put a check to the violent behaviour of the Portuguese in that island, which, it was declared, was more detrimental to the interests of the State and did more harm than the sword of their enemies. Not

only were the common soldiers permitted to roam about and rob the people of the country without let or hindrance, but the behaviour of those in higher positions was such towards them that the people fled from their homes to the mountains, rather than submit to the intolerable license and lust of these persecutors.

At Mombassa the Portuguese were in a bad state. The King, Sultan Hazem, was being persecuted by his uncle Manganaje, who desired to usurp the throne, and by the Commander, Manoel de Mello Pereira, who desired to possess himself of the King's riches. These two combined to bring certain false accusations against the King, which, being laid before the Viceroy, the latter sent Simão de Mello Pereira to succeed Manoel de Mello, ordering him at the same time to sieze the Sultan Hazem and send him to Goa. The King having been made acquainted with these intentions against him fled from Mombassa to Arabaya to avoid being taken. The Governor, however, by means of bribes, secured his assassination, and, having caused his head to be cut off, sent that to Goa. Having thus effectually got rid of Sultan Hazem, his uncle Manganaje was placed on the throne by Pereira, which he was to share with Melinde, the brother of the deceased.

Towards the end of the year 1614 four ships arrived at Goa, out of five that had set out from Lisbon, one having been lost near Melinde. Of 3,000 soldiers who had been shipped on board this fleet, not half of that number arrived in India, the rest having died on the voyage. This was a serious disappointment to the Viceroy, who had now an urgent want of all the men he could procure in consequence of the numerous enemies who now seemed to be gathering around the Portuguese in India on all sides.

An ill fate also seemed to attend their homeward-bound vessels, since of the three that were this year dispatched from Goa, one was lost amongst the Maldive Islands; another was wrecked on Fayal Island, when

CHAP. VII. over 260 men perished, including the survivors of the previous wreck; whilst one only arrived safely at Lisbon.

A.D. 1614-15. With the small reinforcement that had now arrived, the Viceroy determined to conduct an expedition to the north in person, against the English and Dutch fleets that were there in some force. He sent in advance of him Dom Manoel de Azevedo with twenty-two sail, who was joined at Surat by Luiz de Brito and Dom João de Almeida with their respective squadrons. These landed and destroyed the lands round Cifandum and Diva; after which they proceeded to Broach and Gogo, both of which places they pludered and burnt, besides setting fire to six large ships in the bay. Thence they proceeded to Patane, and as on their approach the inhabitants all fled from the city to the woods, it was taken and burnt without any opposition.

Shortly after Azevedo had sailed, the Viceroy set out from Goa with seven galleons, one of them, in which he embarked, being so large as to carry with ease 230 men-at-arms. Besides these seven galleons, the fleet also consisted of two pinks, one galley, one caravel, and five other vessels, the whole carrying 1,400 Portuguese, with a large amount of artillery, but it is added unskilful gunners.

The purpose for which this squadron had been prepared was the destruction of four English ships that were then at Swally; these were the "New Year's Gift," the "Hector," the "Merchant's Hope," and the "Solomon," which were under the command of Nicholas Downton.

On the 23rd December, 1614, the Viceroy's fleet arrived and anchored near the English vessels, between them and Surat. Slight skirmishes took place on the 27th and 28th. On the 29th the English fleet sailed and took up a better position at Swally itself, thus getting once more into communication with Surat. Between the 14th and 19th January, 1615, the Viceroy was joined by three

other fleets, commanded respectively by Dom Manoel de Azevedo, Luiz de Brito, and Dom João de Almeida, which brought up his command to eight galleons, three lesser ships, and sixty frigates. The Nabob, being greatly alarmed at the size of the Portuguese force, endeavoured to bring about an understanding between the two parties, but the Portuguese commander, confident in the superiority of his force, refused to come to any arrangement, hoping, after he should have defeated the English, to have the natives entirely at his mercy.

On the 20th January, the "Merchant's Hope" stood towards the enemy, followed shortly afterwards by the other three vessels. Seeing one ship in advance of the rest, the Viceroy ordered two pinks, the caravel, and other smaller vessels to attack her. Having all grappled, the Portuguese boarded her with great resolution, and twice nearly succeeded in taking her, but they were driven back with great slaughter, losing between 400 and 500 men, amongst whom were many fidalgos, whilst the English loss was but small. The other three English vessels now coming up completed the defeat, and captured three of the attacking ships. The Portuguese crews effected their escape, but before retiring set the captured ships on fire, hoping thereby to burn the "Merchant's Hope" also. The English sailors, however, managed to cast them loose, and they then drifted to the sands and burnt out harmlessly. A cannonade was kept up between the English ships and the galleons until night, and the next morning the Viceroy sailed away with his entire fleet to Diu.

This successful resistance on the part of the English encouraged the Nabob to refuse an overture of peace made by the Portuguese.

Intelligence was now received by the Viceroy, from Dom Luiz da Gama, commander at Ormuz, that the fort of Komoran was being besieged by land and sea by a Persian force of 14,000 men, by order of the Shah Abbas, because

CHAP. VII. A.D. 1615. the Portuguese had refused to pay certain duties owing to the King of Lara, of whose territories the Shah had now taken possession. Andreu de Quadros, who was in command at Komoran, had but few men with him to resist the attack, and the fort was ill-provided with guns; consequently, after a feeble resistance, he was forced to surrender to the enemy. Shortly after the place had been taken possession of by the Persians, Michael de Sousa Pimental arrived with nine vessels, having been sent there by the Viceroy to its relief. Finding that the place had already fallen, Pimental made no attempt to recapture it, but sailed away to Muscat.

The internal affairs of the Portuguese in India appear now to have been in a very disordered and unsatisfactory condition. Repeated instructions were sent to the Viceroys from Lisbon, that the money furnished for the purchase of spices should be devoted to the purposes for which it was supplied. This, taken in conjunction with the fact that many officers in India were heavily indebted to the State, clearly indicates the existence of a considerable amount of peculation. The want of funds in India was evidently very great; and in order to provide means for the proper maintenance and repair of certain forts, it became the custom, when the need was very urgent, to send out vessels specially for the purpose, the profits of their respective voyages being devoted in advance to certain specific objects. The wealth of the convents in India had already been lent to the State, and absorbed in the general expenses of administration; and at the time when the sinews of war were most urgently required in their struggles with the English and Dutch, the pecuniary resources of the Portuguese were at their lowest ebb. People were encouraged to pay their taxes in copper, and even Chinese copper was accepted at certain ports, in order that the metal might be used in the manufacture of cannon. It was, however, not an unfrequent occurrence for the copper guns to be stolen from the forts wherein they

were placed, in consequence of which, in 1634, orders were given that guns should all be cast in iron.

The vessels that left Lisbon in 1614 carried out instructions to the Viceroy that all commands and high appointments that would be likely to yield money were to be put up to sale, there being then no other visible means whereby to provide for the wants of the administration. These orders were accordingly put in force, but they led to a great amount of dissatisfaction, principally because not only were many thereby deprived of the right they claimed to possess of succeeding to those appointments in virtue of their long service, but also because the possession of money was now made the only road to preferment, and the most coveted posts might not improbably fall at times to those who were the least deserving and capable.

About this time the natives made an attack on the city of S. Thomé, and erected a fort there, which they armed and garrisoned with a force of 600 men. They had besides a large number of troops outside the city, which they cannonaded from a pagoda near S. Francisco. Captain Manoel de Frias besieged the fort, which was shortly forced to capitulate owing to a want of water. It was then taken possession of by de Frias, who found within it, besides other cannon, one piece of twenty-five spans, or six and a quarter yards, in length, that carried a ball of fifty pounds weight.

By negotiations entered into with the Mughal, Jehangir, through Hierome Xaverius of the Order of Jesuits, a treaty was concluded between that monarch and the Portuguese, under date the 7th June, 1615, with the view of keeping the English and Dutch out of India. The following extract from that document explains the primary objects with which it was entered into:—

"Whereas the English and Dutch, under the guise of merchants, come to these parts to establish themselves here and make conquests of the lands; and whereas their presence in the neighbourhood of India would do a

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great deal of harm to all, it is now agreed that neither the King Jehangir nor the Viceroy of the State of India, shall have any commercial relations with the aforesaid nations, neither shall they give them shelter in their ports nor supply them with provisions. The English now in those parts shall leave them with their goods, *viâ* Masulipatam.

"For the sake of peace and concord all differences between, and all losses sustained by Mughals and Portuguese, shall be forgotten. From this date they shall be at peace, and the Portuguese shall be at liberty to travel by land and sea to the ports and territories of the King Jehangir and trade there. In the same way shall the vassals of the said King be at liberty to trade with the ports and territories of the King of Portugal. The King Jehangir shall release all Portuguese captives who may not have become Moors, and the Viceroy shall release all subjects of King Jehangir who may not have become Christians.

"The Malabars being pirates, who gain their livelihood by theft, shall not be allowed to enter the ports of either King, and, should they do so, the Portuguese shall be permitted to enter any ports or river where the Malabars may happen to be, and seize them.

"This Treaty of Peace shall in no wise affect the rights which the King of Portugal has had of demanding dues at Diu, from the vessels navigating the bay of Cambaya ; on the contrary, he shall maintain the same rights as hitherto."

At the union of the two Crowns of Spain and Portugal the respective foreign possessions of the two kingdoms were kept so rigidly distinct that even trade between the Portuguese settlements in Macao, and the Spanish settlements in the Philippines, was actually forbidden. But as soon as the Dutch began to grow powerful in the Indies, the King decreed that it would be to the interest of both Crowns that the Spanish and Portuguese forces in the

East should unite in order to drive them out. In 1615 Dom João da Silva, who was in command of the Spanish settlement at Manilla, sent to the Viceroy to demand assistance from the Portuguese to defend the Moluccas Islands against the Dutch. This was accordingly granted, and the Viceroy sent Francisco de Miranda Anriques with a fleet of four galleons to his aid. These vessels were, it appears, manned principally by convicts, of whom a number deserted at Goa as soon as they had received an advance of pay, and others ran away at Malacca, where Anriques touched, contrary to orders, having surreptitiously taken on board Dom Gonçale da Silva, the Bishop of that city.

It was now about the middle of July, and two months since Anriques started. On leaving Malacca he met with a storm, and one of his vessels sprang a leak, so that he was obliged to put back to Malacca for repairs. On arrival there he found Diogo de Mendoça Furtado, who was commander-in-chief at that port, about to set out with six galleons and twelve jalias (small vessels), manned by the garrison of Malacca, to meet some vessels that were expected from China, and also to ascertain the truth of a report that had reached Malacca to the effect that the King of Achin was on his way thither with a fleet.

The Achinese fleet was met with about five leagues from the Straits of Malacca. It consisted of some 500 vessels, of which 100 were galleys, larger than those of the Portuguese. In it were the King of Achin himself with his wives, the greater part of his treasure, and some 60,000 men. Four years had been occupied in fitting out this fleet, and, in the place of colours flying from the mastheads, there were globes of massive gold.

Having come in sight of the Achinese fleet, Furtado held a council with his captains, when it was determined, in view of the weak state in which Malacca had been left, not to risk an engagement. He therefore returned to

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Malacca with a portion of his fleet, and, placing the galleons under the command of Francisco de Miranda Anriques, sent him forward to meet the enemy. The two sides ranged themselves in order of battle, and a little after noon the attack commenced. The enemy's vessels were in such numbers and arranged in such close order that the fire from the Portuguese guns took terrible effect upon them. The fight continued until evening, when a storm arose and scattered the vessels. Next day, at noon, the respective fleets having come together again, the fight was renewed.

Some of the Portuguese vessels, as well as those of the enemy, were destroyed by fire, and one Achinese ship was blown up. Francisco de Miranda Anriques' vessel was boarded three times by the Achinese, but on each occasion the assailants were driven off with great slaughter. The enemy directed their principal attacks against Anriques' vessel, which was attacked altogether fourteen times, and set on fire eighteen times, but on each occasion they were driven off, although the other galleons could not come up to his relief owing to the want of wind.

After the last unsuccessful attack the enemy's fleet retired towards Bancales. No attempt was made to follow after the Achinese fleet, as news had been received that eight Dutch ships were on their way to Malacca, and Anriques' fleet therefore repaired thither to assist in the defence of the city. At a council that was now held it was decided to draw up the galleons in a certain position to prevent the Dutch from getting between them and the land, so that they might place all their cannon on one side of their ships. The Dutch vessels now hove in sight, but the Portuguese captains manœuvred so badly that they allowed the Dutch ships to occupy the positions they themselves had been ordered to take up.

The Dutch ships were both larger and better manned than those of the Portuguese. The engagement that at

once ensued lasted all day, with considerable loss on both sides; but on the second day, one of the Portuguese galleons, after losing three captains, was so shattered by the Dutch guns that those of the crew who remained alive left it. On the third day, only ten men remaining in another galleon, they set it on fire, and then went ashore. Anriques had only six men left on board his ship, and he was wounded in the leg. The survivors therefore carried him ashore, and set fire to his ship also.

In this engagement the Portuguese lost about 200 men; and, although the Dutch had also suffered severely, they remained the victors. Their fleet then sailed to the mouth of the Straits to intercept the vessels that were expected from China. Having, however, received intelligence that Dom João da Silva, Governor of Manilla, was expected that way with his fleet, the Dutch sailed away.

After his defeat by the Dutch, Francisco de Miranda Anriques proceeded to Goa, where he was brought to trial for not having sailed direct to Manilla in accordance with his instructions; but he was acquitted on account of the bravery he had shown in the face of the enemy.

As soon as João da Silva learned that the galleons ordered to Manilla to his assistance could not proceed thither, he sent ammunition to the fleet at Malacca, and also advice warning the Portuguese of the approach of the Dutch vessels. These, however, only arrived after the total loss of the Portuguese galleons.

Shortly after dispatching this intelligence to Malacca, Dom João da Silva set out with ten large galleons, and when off Pulatinam he fell in with the Portuguese vessels from China, which he then convoyed to Malacca, where he was received in great state. Shortly after his arrival there, da Silva fell ill and died in seven days, as did also some other officers of his squadron. With his death the hopes the Portuguese had entertained of defeating the Dutch with the aid of his vessels likewise disappeared.

In this year (1615) a treaty of peace was concluded by

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Gonzalo Pinto da Fonseca at Daman, between the Portuguese and King Choutia, with whom there had been some differences on account of the latter having laid claim to certain lands which were also held to belong to Portuguese territory. This claim he had now surrendered, and upon the ratification of the treaty, Choutia undertook to serve the King of Portugal with 1,000 foot and 100 horse soldiers, and it was arranged that his son should reside at Daman and have the command of a fleet at sea.

Francisco de Miranda Anriques' expedition having failed to go to Manilla, about the middle of February, 1616, the Viceroy sent Gonzalo Rodriguez de Sousa, with six galliots of war and two merchant ships, to assist the Spaniards of Manilla, who had been besieged at Ternate by eleven Dutch ships. At the sight of this reinforcement, the Dutch fleet sailed away in a southerly direction towards Macassa. Two galleys and a pink with the galliots were at once dispatched to follow the enemy. On their way these vessels destroyed the towns of Arsula Besi, and the greater and less Manciolas; they also burnt some vessels they met with belonging to the Kings of Ternate, Maquien, Batjan, and Cacoa, because they had established friendly relations with the Dutch. The combined Spanish and Portuguese forces landed at Corane, and captured the fort there without much difficulty, and the King fled to the neighbouring woods. Soon after re-embarking they met three large ships, in which were the son-in-law and grandson of the King of Corane. These were captured, and the King's son-in-law was killed. On the 2nd April the fleet reached Macassa just at the same time that the Dutch vessels from Ternate arrived there. A fight ensued, but after it had lasted a few hours a storm arose which separated the combatants, and the combined fleet then returned to Ternate.

In Ceylon, Manoel Mascarenhas Homem marched against the King of Kandy with fourteen companies of Portuguese of thirty men each, and the Dissavas, or chiefs,

of the natives. The river of Kandy being much swollen, a temporary wooden bridge had to be constructed to enable the army to cross over, for which purpose there were fortunately many trees growing in the neighbourhood. They advanced in the face of some opposition to the city Babule, burning everything as they went along. The van of the Portuguese army, led by Simão Correa, was surprised by an ambush, but other troops coming up, the enemy were driven off, and fled to the woods, but in the encounter about forty were killed on either side. As Babule offered no prospects for plunder it was burnt, and all the fruit trees in the neighbourhood were cut down. After this Manoel Mascarenhas Homem returned to Sofragan and Malvane.

In August, Pedro Peixoto da Silva was sent with eight companies to Tumpane, a place in the kingdom of Kandy, about a league north of Balane. He spared neither sex nor age, on the plea that the people of Tumpane had endeavoured to betray the Portuguese to the enemy. The lands of Archiapato were burnt; and near Mabale, da Silva was opposed by a force numbering 1,500, of whom he killed seventy, whereupon the remainder retired. He then returned to Manicravare with 500 prisoners, 2,000 head of cattle, and some elephants.

After this Filippe de Oliveira made another raid into Kandy with ten companies, which also returned after having inflicted some loss upon the enemy.

Sebastião Gonzales Tibao, who had raised himself to the position of an independent sovereign at Sundiva, found himself now in a precarious position; and being in need of assistance in order to maintain his power, he sent to Goa for aid. Presuming upon his independence, he offered that if the Viceroy would effectually support him, he would become tributary to Portugal, and pay a galleon load of rice yearly in acknowledgment of vassallage, the same to be delivered either at Goa or Malacca. With regard to his past proceedings, Tibao urged that all he had done

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was to avenge the murder of the Portuguese who had been killed by the King of Arakan in Banguel of Dianga, and, as an additional incentive for the Viceroy to assist him, he held out the prospect that the vast treasure belonging to that King might not improbably be taken. This latter argument prevailed with Don Hierome de Azevedo, who accordingly promised to send him the desired aid.

For this enterprise a fleet was fitted out consisting of fourteen of the largest galliots, one flyboat, and a pink, all under the command of Dom Francisco de Menezes Roxo. The expedition sailed from Goa about the middle of September, and arrived at Arakan on the 3rd October, a galliot having been sent on in advance to advise Sebastião Gonzales Tibao of its approach.

The instructions given to Dom Francisco were that he was to attack the King of Arakan without waiting for Sebastião Gonzales. When preparations were being made for this purpose, on the 15th of October an enormous fleet was seen coming down the river, headed by some Dutch vessels. A Dutch pink fired the first gun, after which a general engagement ensued, and continued during the entire day with considerable loss to both sides. At night the enemy drew off, and Dom Francisco determined not to renew the attack until joined by Sebastião Gonzales, but to lay at the mouth of the river until his arrival.

At length Gonzales arrived with fifty vessels, well manned and equipped, and he was not a little enraged at finding that Dom Francisco had begun the attack without waiting for him. The two fleets were now equally divided between Dom Francisco and Gonzales, and about the middle of November they sailed up the river, when they found the enemy's fleet riding at anchor in a safe place, and resolved to attack it.

No sooner had the engagement commenced than the Arakanese fleet bore down upon the Portuguese vessels in three divisions. Sebastião Gonzales at the first held his

own against the attack, and the pink held a Dutch ship at bay; but towards evening Dom Francisco was killed by a musket ball in his forehead, whereupon, from a signal given on board his galliot, Sebastião Gonzales withdrew from the engagement, and as the tide ebbed the two fleets parted. But Gaspar de Abreu's galliot being left behind amongst the Arakanese fleet, all her men were slain and the vessel was destroyed. Gaspar de Abreu was, however, brought off by Antonio Carvalho mortally wounded, and he died a few days later.

Dom Luiz de Azevedo, who now succeeded to the command, withdrew the fleet altogether, and retired to Sundiva, after which he left for Goa, declining to remain there for the support and protection of Gonzales.

Shortly afterwards, the King of Arakan arrived with a force and took possession of Sundiva, with which capture ended the connection of the Portuguese with those parts, and the extraordinary history of Sebastião Gonzales Tibao.

CHAPTER VIII.

Dispatch of a Fleet to the North under Ruy Freire de Andrade—Relief of Cranganor—Imposture of Nicapeti in Ceylon—Nicapeti Proclaimed Emperor of Ceylon—The Fort of Sofragan Captured on behalf of the King of Kandy—Capitulation of the Fort of Balane—Arrival of an Ambassador from Siam at Goa—Dispatch of a Fleet from Lisbon under Dom Manoel de Menezes—Fight with English Vessels near Madagascar—Capture of Sohar—Ambassador from the King of Ava—Guerilla Warfare in Ceylon—Treaty with the King of Pandar—Dispatch of an Embassy to Persia—Uncertainty as to whether the Ambassador ever proceeded thither—Dispatch of an Expedition to Madagascar—Arrival at Goa of Dom João Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, as Viceroy—Return to Lisbon and Imprisonment of Dom Hierome de Azevedo—Victory of the Portuguese Arms at Mangalor—Their Repulse at Olala—Ambassador to the Mughal—Capture of a Portuguese Ship by the English off the Cape of Good Hope—Destruction of Native Towns near Jambi—Victory of the Tartars in China—Dispatch of Portuguese troops to Assist the Emperor of China—Expedition in Ceylon against Madune—Defeat of Portuguese Vessels by the Kunhale—Capture of the King of Jafanapatam—Death of the Conde de Redondo—Ferdinão de Albuquerque Appointed Governor—Attack on the Portuguese at Jafanapatam—Agreement between Shah Abbas of Persia and the English—Attempt to Capture Sir Robert Shirley—The English to be Prevented Trading with Persia—Engagement between Portuguese and English Fleets off Jask—Attack on Ormuz by Combined English and Persian Forces—Surrender of Ruy Freire de Andrade to the English—Capture of Ormuz—State of Macao—Attack by the Dutch on Macao—Defeat of the Dutch.

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The Viceroy fitted out a squadron for the north, consisting of twelve ships and as many small vessels, in which were at least twenty fidalgos, who served as volunteers. The admiral of this fleet was Ruy Freire de Andrade.

This fleet set out about the end of October, and on arriving off Surat the officer commanding there for the Mughal sent off, as a present to him, two vessels said to be loaded with fresh provisions, but upon inspection

they were found to contain many costly curiosities and silks. After consulting with his captains, Ruy Freire took only one piece of cambolin, worth about twenty pardaos, and returned the rest accompanied by a message to the Nabob that he would be as ready to serve his master as if he had accepted the whole present. The captains agreed that the cambolin should be given to some lady, whosesoever mistress should be deemed handsomest; and it was accordingly unanimously accorded to Hippolito Furtado, the mistress of Ruy Freire.

The fleet proceeded from Surat to Cambay, and whilst there Ruy Freire inspected the fort of Diu, and then visited Gogo, which place, once a great commercial mart of the Moors, had been destroyed the preceding year by the Portuguese.

At the end of December, the fleet, which was the largest that had for many years been seen in those waters, left Cambay, and when off Daman it encountered a severe storm, in which four vessels were lost; two went down with all hands; of another, only one man survived; but of the fourth all the crew were saved. The main part of the fleet reached Bassein, but eight merchant ships lost convoy and went towards Chaul, where they fell in with four paraos belonging to pirates, which captured two of the fleet. The remaining six joined the convoy at Bassein, whereupon Ruy Freire ordered the beards of the soldiers on board of them to be cut off, for not having followed his light. The remainder of the fleet then returned to Goa.

The Malabar fleet was under the command of Dom Bernardo de Noronha. He now went to the relief of Cranganor, which was being attacked by the Zamorin. The fleet arrived there in time to prevent three Dutch ships that were in the neighbourhood from sending any assistance to the Zamorin, whose Nairs were soon forced to retire. After relieving Cranganor, Dom Bernardo sent Dom Henrique de Sousa with eleven ships to Calicut, off

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which city he burned a large vessel belonging to the Zamorin, which was loaded and ready to sail for Mecca. Having done this, Dom Bernardo visited the forts on the Malabar and Canara coasts, and then returned to Goa.

Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira now succeeded Manoel Mascarenhas Homem as Commander in Ceylon, and he, continuing the inroads made by his predecessor in Kandy, made several successful raids into that territory, and captured a large number of cattle.

About this time a Cingalese of obscure birth, named Nicapeti, who had been in the service of the Portuguese, having gained admittance to one of the Queens of Valgameme, of whom he heard something from the late King, who also bore the same name as himself, resolved to personate the late King and to represent to the people that he was their natural King, who had come to life again. To this end he adopted the habit of a jogue, or hermit, and first made his appearance in the neighbourhood of Mareguepor, giving out that in compassion for the calamities that had fallen upon his country he had returned again to earth to deliver it from the Portuguese bondage. Many people believed in his story, and flocking to him, entered the seven Corlas when the Dessaye, Filippe de Oliveira, was absent. At Mattagama he slew two Jesuits, and within a week he not only received succour to the extent of 2,000 men from the King of Kandy, but he was accepted as King by the greater part of the country.

As soon as Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira heard of this, he sent Manoel Cesar with a force to put down this impostor before the affair should have grown too serious. Cesar met Nicapeti with 6,000 men at Gandola, a village on the River Laoa, when an engagement took place, in which two Portuguese officers and some ten or twelve soldiers who led the van were slain. In the heat of the battle 1,000 Cingalese, who belonged to the Portuguese army, and were commanded by Luiz Gomes Pinto, deserted in a body to the enemy, whereupon Dom Constantine, a Cin-

galese, but a Portuguese subject and of the blood royal, stepping forward, cried out to these deserters, "Whither do you fly, my friends? If you look for your natural King, here am I, who by seven several branches am descended from them." Immediately they all turned and proclaimed him King.

After a long engagement the enemy fled over the river, and on the following morning the Portuguese army also crossed, but not finding their opponents, they encamped on the bank pending the receipt of further instructions.

In the meanwhile Filippe de Oliveira returned from Kandy, having heard of Nicapeti's attempt to seize the sovereignty, but not of the defeat of his supporters. Oliveira had with him a number of Cingalese, to whom an emissary from the impostor came, and endeavoured to induce them to desert from the Portuguese and to follow their natural Prince. This caused some little excitement amongst Oliveira's men, but does not appear to have attained the desired result. The following day, Oliveira reached the scene of the late battle, where were discovered over 1,000 slain on the field, but no information was forthcoming as to who had gained the victory. An inscription was, however, found on a tree stating that all the Portuguese in Ceylon had been slain, and that Colombo had surrendered. This information greatly startled the Portuguese, but was received with evident joy by the lascarines,* 800 in number, who were with him.

As Filippe de Oliveira continued his march he was attacked in the rear by 300 men, but as soon as he faced round upon them they fled. Near the River Laoa he was again attacked, but being now joined by Manoel Cesar, his assailants fled to the woods.

It was now arranged between Oliveira and Cesar that, with a view of bringing to submission the revolted Cingalese, all the women and children in certain villages should be captured. Accordingly Oliveira took over 400, but the

* The Cingalese who served in the Portuguese army were called "lascarines."

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same night the 800 lascarines who were with him deserted with their arms, leaving the Portuguese alone, who numbered not more than 200 men. These marched five leagues to the Pagoda of Atanagale, near Maluana, where the general had fixed his headquarters. Here Oliveira received a reinforcement of 500 men, of whom 200 were Portuguese. The general ordered Dom Manoel de Castro to take charge of the provisions and ammunition, and appointed Dom Constantine, the Cingalese, Dessaye of the seven Corlas, in the place of Dom Filippe de Oliveira, who was deprived of that position in consequence of the desertion of the 800 lascarines from his force.

Nicapeti, though defeated in his engagement with the Portuguese, still carried on his pretensions to the sovereignty, and bestowed lands and appointments upon his adherents. Having gathered together an army of 24,000 men, he marched towards Colombo, and when he had arrived on the banks of the River Nacolega, half a league from that town, he caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Ceylon. From thence he dispatched a message to the King of Kandy, desiring that he would send him one of his two wives, who, in reply, promised to comply with his request so soon as he should have subdued the Portuguese. This reply so enraged Nicapeti that he threatened to treat the King of Kandy as he would the Portuguese. This having come to the knowledge of the 2,000 men whom the King of Kandy had sent to the assistance of Nicapeti, they deserted from him in a body and returned to Kandy.

Manoel Cesar and Dom Constantine now joined their forces and marched against Nicapeti. A Cingalese carried the news of the advance of this force to Nicapeti, who thereupon ordered him to be impaled, declaring that there were now no Portuguese left in Ceylon. He was, however, soon undeceived, for it was not long before the vanguards of the two armies came in sight of each other. Nicapeti at once seized upon a hill, where he entrenched

himself with 7,000 men. The Portuguese lost no time in attacking the enemy, and succeeded in entering his works, where they killed 1,000 men, and Nicapeti, throwing aside his regal ornaments, fled for his life to the woods. The remainder of Nicapeti's forces retreated across the River Laoa, and night coming on, the Portuguese encamped upon the field of battle. The next morning they found their forces strengthened to the extent of 500 men, who had deserted to them from the enemy.

It appears that after Nicapeti had quarrelled with the King of Kandy, the latter sent an ambassador to the commander of the fort of Sofragan, to propose a joint expedition against that pretender, but instead of treating this envoy with the courtesy due to his position, the Commander Faria murdered him, and vouchsafed no reply to the message he had brought. Shortly after this a Cingalese, Antonio Barreto by name, who had embraced the Catholic religion and had been in the Portuguese service, was with the King of Kandy. Though of mean parentage, Barreto had, by his valour, been advanced to the rank of General of the King's forces, with the title of "Prince and Governor of the Kingdom of Uva." Taking advantage of Nicapeti's revolt, he now went with a considerable force to take the Portuguese fort of Sofragan, and by a pretence of friendship he induced the garrison, which numbered only about sixty men, under two captains, Faria and Matoso, to consent to a conference, whereupon he treacherously killed most of them. Some, however, escaped to a church, but having no ammunition, they were soon forced to surrender, and were carried away prisoners to the King of Kandy.

The King, instead of taking vengeance upon these men for the murder of his ambassador, treated them kindly, and sent two of them to Balane to advise the Portuguese garrison there to surrender that place to him, as it was then being attacked by Nicapeti; these, however, instead of doing so, encouraged the commander to hold out, and

CHAP. VIII. they were thereupon conducted back to Kandy as prisoners.

A.D. 1617. As soon as the King learned the result of this mission, and that the Commander of Balane refused to surrender, he fell upon the place with 10,000 men and a number of elephants. The Commander, Manoel Falcam, held out against this unequal force for several days, but finding that some of the Portuguese of the garrison had deserted, and that there was no prospect of the arrival of any assistance, he was forced to capitulate.

About this time an embassy arrived at Goa from the King of Siam, who, in return for the favours he had received from the Portuguese, offered the port of Martaban to the King of Portugal, with permission to build a fort there, in consideration of his maintaining the garrison and a small fleet to cruise on the neighbouring sea against the King of Dua. The ambassadors were splendidly entertained, and Friar Francisco, a Dominican, was sent back with them in a similar capacity with a costly present for the King.

Friar Francisco, after the usual compliments, proposed that the Portuguese and Siamese forces should unite to subdue the King of Ava; that there should be a free trade between Siam and Malacca, and that the King should not admit the Dutch into Siam. To this the King replied that the Portuguese merchants had full permission to resort unrestrictedly to his ports, where they would be free from all duties, and that his subjects would also trade with Malacca; that the reason why the latter had not of late resorted to Malacca was the ill-usage they had met with at that port, of which he cited several instances. He also informed Friar Francisco that he had already admitted the English, Dutch, and Malays into his ports in consideration of the great respect they showed him and the need he had of their trade; that he had already assisted the Portuguese against the Dutch, and that he was in no way concerned for the harm the people of Malacca had

caused to the Queen of Patane, because she was a mad woman, but that as she was now dead he had placed some-one of more sense there, and he desired that there might be free trade with that place as well as with Siam. CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1617.

The King further undertook that the goods of such Portuguese as died in his dominions should go to their heirs, and stated that he had issued orders to the effect that all Portuguese who committed any crimes should be tried at his court, with the view of preventing any wrong being done to them through the prejudice of the native magistrates. On the return of Friar Francisco to Goa he was accompanied by two Siamese gentlemen, who were sent by the King to proceed as his ambassadors to the King of Spain.

The inhabitants of the city of S. Thomé de Meliapor having become divided by certain differences, which they settled by means of duels, in which many were killed, the Viceroy sent Ruy Diaz de Sampayo with seven vessels and 250 soldiers to restore order there. This he speedily accomplished, and afterwards sent Pedro Gomes de Sousa with six of his ships, to scour the coast of Carriero. He surprised the city of Montepoli, where he made great havoc, and carried away a number of women and children, besides a large amount of booty. As Pedro Gomes was returning to the shore he was met by an old Moor, who complained that he had been greatly wronged by Cotamuza, the King of Golconda, and he volunteered not only to turn Christian, but further offered to show them how they could easily capture the fort of Carriero.

Although warned that there was some treachery connected with the offer of the old Moor, Pedro Gomes readily accepted his offer and went with him, accompanied by a small force, to take possession of the fort. He had hardly proceeded a league when some 600 Moors, who had purposely been placed in an ambush, rushed out upon the Portuguese, and Pedro Gomes and all his captains but one were slain, together with 130 of his force; twenty-

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five were taken prisoners, and only thirty escaped by flight. Joseph Pereira de Sampayo carried the remainder of the men and the ships to S. Thomé.

The Moors sent the Portuguese they had taken to the King of Golconda, who complained very much that they should have entered his territory in a hostile manner at the same time that negotiations were on foot for a friendly alliance; but upon being assured that they had acted in this manner without orders from the Government, he delivered up the prisoners on the sole condition that those who had been taken prisoners at Montepoli should also be restored to their homes.

In 1616, Dom Manoel de Menezes sailed from Lisbon with three vessels. One of these soon sprung a leak, and had to return to port again. During a storm off the coast of Guinea the two remaining vessels were parted, one of which ultimately arrived safely at Goa; but Dom Manoel's vessel, when near the island of Madagascar, met four English ships, whereupon the commander sent to desire that he would go on board his vessel. Instead of doing so, however, Dom Manoel sent a man, on whose judgment he could rely, to examine the strength of the English vessels, who returned with the report that the admiral's vessel alone would be more than a match for the Portuguese ship. Dom Manoel then sent word to the English that since their respective Kings were at peace with one another, there appeared no reason why their subjects should break it; he also requested the admiral to bear off, and not go ahead of him. To this request the English paid no heed, and as the smallest of his vessels passed the Portuguese ship Dom Manoel fired at it, whereupon all the four English ships began to attack him.

Night coming on, the Portuguese ship continued her course, and in the morning found herself amongst some islands near Maytta. The English followed, and as the wind fell the Portuguese ship was unable to get away, and was consequently forced to fight. It was soon unmasted,

whereupon the Portuguese endeavoured to make the island Angaziya. The English admiral sent to tell Dom Manoel that he was running to his ruin, and that if he would surrender, all the men should be landed at Surat, whence they might travel by land to Goa; but the only reply vouchsafed was that if any more such messages were sent, the bearer of them would be hanged. The ship, drifting with the tide, ran ashore and stuck fast between two rocks, whereupon the men leapt into the sea and got ashore. Falling amongst Caffres, they were stripped of their very clothing; many died from want and exposure, but the majority, after enduring great hardships, arrived eventually at Mombassa, where they were maintained at the expense of the town until an opportunity presented itself of sending them away. They embarked from Mombassa on the 10th September, and arrived ultimately at Goa.

As the trade of the port of Sohar, in Arabia, seriously affected the customs' receipts at Ormuz and Muscat, it was determined to take steps to remedy this. Accordingly the Viceroy sent Dom Francisco Rolim, with a galley and five other vessels, who joined Dom Vasco da Gama's fleet of five ships at Muscat. These entered into an alliance with one Amer, the chief of a neighbouring tribe of Arabs, who having some grievance against Mahomet, the King of Sohar, marched against that place with 1,200 men.

On arrival of the fleet at Sohar, the Portuguese forces disembarked and took possession of some mosques for shelter until their cannon could be landed. A fort on a hill was first attacked, and Mahomet, who commanded it, was killed by a musket shot, but night fell before its capture could be completed. The following morning the trenches were entered. A mosque was shortly after occupied, and the town was ultimately captured, where many women and children were taken prisoners, and a considerable amount of booty found. The fort shortly afterwards surrendered, and the King's brother having been captured, he was put to death. The Portuguese troops, in violation

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of the terms of capitulation, killed and plundered the garrison as they marched out; and although it had been agreed that no prisoners should be made, they took several girls, on the pretence of having them brought up as Catholics.

The King of Ava, being apprehensive lest the Kings of Siam and Arakan should conclude treaties of peace with the Portuguese, sent ambassadors for that purpose on his own account, who were also directed to make excuses on his behalf for having killed Philip de Brito e Nicote, and to offer to restore the prisoners he had taken. The King of Ava also offered to assist the Portuguese in an attack on Arakan, who should be entitled to possess themselves of all the enormous amount of treasure belonging to the King of that place, with the exception of the white elephant, which he desired to have for himself. The Viceroy agreed to this proposal, and sent back Martim de Costa Falcom with the ambassadors on their return, to ratify the agreement. After having waited many days for an audience, Falcom was led in the dark at midnight to a place where he was desired to speak, and although the King was not visible, the attendants assured him that he could hear what he said. Whether this were so or not, Falcom received no answer; and when, later on, Falcom met him in the street, the King looked in an opposite direction. Shortly afterwards he returned to Goa without having been able to conclude any arrangements with Ava.

In Ceylon the affairs of the Portuguese were in a very critical state. They had already lost the forts of Sofragan and Balane, and were opposed not only by the King but also by the Cingalese Antonio de Barreto and Nicapeti; the latter, though recently defeated, having still sufficient adherents to make him a dangerous power in the country. Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira, who now commanded the Portuguese forces in the island, went through the country carrying devastation with him and sparing neither sex nor

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age, on the plea that the people were no more to be influenced by mercy than by cruelty.

The Portuguese forces marched from Pelandu against Nicapeti, and proceeded to Catugambala, Devamede, and Cornagal; they took some forts, killed a number of natives, and carried away 600 prisoners. Nicapeti retired to Talampeti, whereupon the Portuguese advanced to Polpeti in sight of the enemy's camp, and having driven them out they passed on to Balapane of Religiam, whence the prisoners and wounded men were sent away.

It was next decided to attack Antonio de Barreto, and Dom Constantine, the Dissaye of the Corlas, was sent against him with a force towards Alicur. Barreto had entrenched himself with 6,000 men at Jatipara, having placed all the women of the Araches and lascarines in safety elsewhere: and Nicapeti had retired to Moratena. The Portuguese forces being scattered, were enabled to make no impression upon the enemy; if perchance they prevailed in any small encounter the Cingalese immediately offered submission, but upon the occasion of the least reverse to their arms they as readily recanted. After a period of this kind of guerilla warfare the Portuguese forces were completely harassed and discouraged, and they retired into quarters at Botale.

Lourenço Perez de Carvallo now arrived at Colombo from Goa, with reinforcements and ammunition. A council was thereupon held, when it was decided to dispatch three forces simultaneously against the enemy. Dom Nuno Alvarez, the general, commanded a considerable force to drive Barreto from Sofragan and Mature: Luiz Gomes Pinto was to secure Alicur and operate against Nicapeti, whilst Manoel Cesar was to hold Botale with a force of 100 men.

About the end of March the general set out for Sofragan, where he was very successful, and having driven the enemy from their works he pursued them into the woods and killed a great number. In May the expedition set out

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against Nicapeti, who had strongly fortified himself at Moratena, but on the approach of the Portuguese he abandoned that place and fled to Kandy. Luiz Gomes Pinto was sent in pursuit and came up with his retreating forces in the deserts of Anorojapure. Nicapeti at once fled to the woods, but some of his men made a short stand until sixty of them having fallen, whereupon the rest retreated after their leader into the woods. Nicapeti's wives and a grandson of Raja Singha were taken captives. After this defeat of Nicapeti, the inhabitants of the Corlas brought quantities of rice to the general at Malvana and acknowledged their submission to the Portuguese.

The King of Pandar, immediately after this victory, sent his ambassadors, together with thirty-two prisoners he had taken, to negotiate a peace with Dom Nuno Alvarez. His proposals, which were sent to the Viceroy at Goa for acceptance, were that a perpetual peace should be established between them, that he should become tributary to Portugal with a yearly payment of four elephants and a quantity of cinnamon; that he should repair and restore the fort of Balane; that he should consent to the erection of another fort in Kandy; and that his kingdom should be confirmed upon him and his three sons. These terms the Viceroy accepted, with the sole qualification that, in settling the kingdom upon him and his heirs, none of the existing claims of the Portuguese were to be surrendered. Subsequently, however, when the King of Pandar became alive to the fact that the Portuguese were not so powerful in Ceylon as he had supposed, he withdrew some of these conditions, and the peace that was concluded with him stipulated merely for the payment of an annual tribute of two elephants.

On the death of the King of Jafanapatam a claim was set up, on the part of the Portuguese, to that kingdom. The late King's son, being only a child, was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, who was appointed Governor.

At Macao, the Chinese being exasperated at the insolent bearing of the Portuguese towards them, endeavoured to get together a force to drive them out of the island. The mandarins of the province of Quantung first sent to remonstrate with them on account of their crimes, ordering that either they should for the future resolve to live honestly, or immediately withdraw from thence with their wives and children. The Portuguese pleaded innocence, excused their faults, and promised to observe the laws of the land in future.

The Shah of Persia having expressed a desire to settle a basis of trade with the Portuguese, with the view of developing the commerce in silk, wrote to the King of Spain, requesting that he would send him no more friars as ambassadors, but some gentleman of note, "for he would better know how to treat with such an one, and His Majesty would be better served, because a religious man out of his cell was like a fish out of water." In accordance with this request, Dom Garcia da Silva e Figueroa, a Spanish gentleman, was sent, bearing with him, as a present for the Shah, a rich and beautiful piece of rare workmanship in gold and silver and set with precious stones. He went from Madrid to Lisbon, and thence to Goa, where he was to receive further instructions. He was also to receive on account of his expenses 20,000 crowns, chargeable to the Custom House of Ormuz, in addition to what he received before starting.

Dom Garcia da Silva duly arrived at Goa, and the Shah having already dispatched an ambassador to Spain, it was thought time that he should now proceed to Persia. In consequence of having been some time in Goa, during which he had necessarily been put to some expenses, Dom Garcia demanded 30,000 ducats of the Viceroy, who was obliged to advance him the greater part of that amount. This claim was made during the winter season, and Dom Garcia put off his departure until the spring, but no further account of his mission has been recorded, and it seems to

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be very doubtful whether he ever proceeded to Persia at all.

A.D. 1614-17.

Dom Hierome de Azevedo, having received instructions from the King to dispatch a mission in order to enquire into the state and condition of the island of Madagascar, and to search for those Portuguese who were believed to have been cast away there from time to time, dispatched thither Paul Rodriguez da Costa in a caravel, with soldiers, two Jesuits, and interpreters. This expedition sailed from Goa at the end of January, 1614, and reached its destination about the middle of April. Paul Rodriguez, in sailing round the island, entered into agreements of friendship with Samamo, King of an island near Masialage, who gave permission for the Gospel to be preached within his territories. Amity was also established with the Kings of Casame and of Sadia, and at other places. Having arrived at the kingdom of Matacassi, Paul Rodriguez learned that not far from that place certain Portuguese had built a town of stone, where they resided for some time, but they were at that time all dead.

At Matacassi a small chapel and a house were now erected for four Portuguese and two friars who were to be left at that place. The King had promised to give one of his sons as hostage for the safety of those who were to be left in his country, but when the time came for demanding the fulfilment of this undertaking, he altogether repudiated it. Attempts were then made to seize one of his sons, and some armed Portuguese succeeded in taking his favourite boy of eleven years of age. The King attempted to rescue him, but was repulsed, and the child was carried off to Goa, where he was baptised by the name of Andreu Azevedo, and handed over to the Jesuits to be educated.

This was in the year 1614. On the 17th September, 1617, the Viceroy sent the boy back to his father, and on arrival at Port S. Lucia he was received with the greatest

demonstration of joy by both the King and Queen. Pedro de Almeida Cabral, who conducted the young Prince to Madagascar, had instructions to carry the King to Goa, or, in the event of his refusal, to take another of his sons. As, however, the King had but one other son, who was too young to undertake the voyage, Cabral carried away Anria Sambo, the King's nephew, who was subsequently baptised at Goa by the name of Hierome.

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Subsequently, this young man was also sent home in a pink, commanded by Manoel Freire de Andrade, with whom went also 100 soldiers and two Jesuits, and he also carried a present worth 4,000 ducats for the King and Prince. They set out in the beginning of February, 1617, and on arrival at the island of "Del Cisne," they saw three ships sunk at the mouth of the river. Having landed, they came upon twenty Dutchmen, who were guarding the goods they had saved from those wrecks. After a little resistance these were overpowered, and most of the goods were carried to Andrade's pink, including a large quantity of cloves, pepper, arms, ammunition, and provisions. What was left behind was then burnt.

Upon arriving at Port S. Lucia, the two Jesuits who had been left there went to Andrade, both being in bad health, and informed him that all the others who had been with them had died. Andrade then sent the King letters he had brought for him, and a present, and the King in return sent a quantity of fresh provisions and six slaves, but he refused to visit the vessels himself. Dom Andreu had already reverted to Mahometanism, and it was discovered that the King designed to kill Andrade, having been instigated thereto by a Cingalese slave belonging to the Jesuits, who had persuaded the King that the Portuguese would certainly deprive him of his kingdom. To this end a fray was started by some Caffres an the shore, and presently afterwards stones and darts were cast at the Portuguese, who returned the compliment with their muskets, and, having killed some of the Caffres, their

CHAP. VIII. quarters were hung upon trees as a warning to the rest, and one of their towns was burnt.

A.D. 1617. Andrade then retired, carrying away with him the King's nephew, Dom Hierome, together with a brother of his who was captured in the skirmish. The Jesuits also determined to abandon their mission in that place, and returned with the ships to Goa.

Towards the end of the year 1617, four vessels arrived at Goa from Lisbon, with which came Dom João Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, to succeed Dom Hierome de Azevedo as Viceroy. Dom Hierome returned to Portugal in the same vessel that had brought out his successor, and he had no sooner arrived in Lisbon than he was made prisoner, and put into a dungeon beneath the Castle. He was treated with great disrespect, and, after a long imprisonment, was brought to trial on a charge of not having fought the Dutch. After his trial he was treated with greater indignity than before. Upon entering on the office of Viceroy he had been possessed of great wealth, but through his liberality he had returned a poor man.

Whatever justice, or otherwise, there may have been in his imprisonment on the charges laid against him, it is impossible to entertain any sympathy for one who abused the power entrusted to him by the perpetration of the greatest atrocities perhaps that the human mind could conceive. In the height of his success in Ceylon he forced mothers to cast their children between mill-stones, and having seen them ground to death, they were afterwards beheaded. He caused the soldiers to take up children on the points of their pikes, and hearing them cry, bid them hark how those cocks crew, playing upon the likeness of the names, those people being called *Galas*, and cocks in Portuguese *galos*. He caused many men to be cast off the bridge of Malvana for the soldiers to see the crocodiles devour them; and these creatures became so used to this food that at a whistle

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they would lift their heads above water expecting to be fed.

When Dom João Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, entered upon his duties as Viceroy, a war was in progress at Mangalor, where Salvador Ribeiro was in command. With the assistance of Dom Diogo Coutinho, Commander-in-Chief of Malabar, he took the field against 11,000 natives, whom he defeated with the loss of only six men. The King of that banguel, or district, who was friendly with the Portuguese, not being able to protect himself against his enemy Ventaca Naik, made it over to them for defence, and it was accordingly placed under the command of Antonio de Saldanha. Dom Francisco de Menezes de Baçaim, being sent to his assistance with some additional force, was attacked on landing by the Moors, who, gaining some advantage at first, were subsequently defeated and put to flight. A force of 300 Portuguese and 1,000 natives was then left there to keep the natives in subjection.

Shortly after this, the Portuguese were attacked by a party of Canarese, and the Viceroy therefore sent Francisco de Miranda Anriques with eight vessels and reinforcements. These arrived in August, and in an engagement that ensued the Portuguese lost 800 men and the enemy 4,000.

Anriques, having captured a rich ship from Mecca belonging to the Queen of Olala, she, in revenge, sent a body of men to assist the enemy, who now laid siege to the fort of Banguel, and burnt the town. A sharp engagement ensued, in which both sides lost heavily, but the advantage is claimed to have been on the side of the Portuguese. Anriques then made an attack on the fort of Olala, but was repulsed and forced to retire.

At the beginning of the following year, Ventaca Naik, with 12,000 Canarese, fell suddenly upon Luiz de Brito e Mello when carrying relief to Dom Francisco de Miranda Anriques, and killed both those officers, together with 180 Portuguese and over sixty slaves.

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In order to protect the interests of the Portuguese in India, the Conde de Redondo sent an ambassador to the Mughal, desiring that he would not admit either the English or the Dutch into any of his ports. The result of this embassy was that the Mughal took off the embargo which was laid upon 200 Portuguese vessels that were in his ports, and he forbore making war upon Daman and Diu, for which purpose he had already detached 30,000 horse from the army he had prepared to march against the Persians, who had invaded his territories.

In the spring of 1618, three ships and two flyboats left Lisbon for India under the command of Dom Christopher de Noronha. One of the flyboats, which was in advance of the rest, fell in with six English ships off the Cape of Good Hope, and was captured. The English admiral, learning from the men on board that other vessels were following, lay in wait for them, and on their arrival informed Dom Christopher de Noronha that he had orders from his King to seize effects of the Portuguese to the value of 70,000 crowns, in consideration of the damage done by the Viceroy, Dom Hierome de Azevedo, to the four English ships in the Bay of Surat. This amount Dom Christopher immediately paid, together with a further sum of 20,000 ducats for distribution amongst the crews of the English vessels. As soon as Dom Christopher arrived at Goa, he was arrested by the Viceroy and sent back as a prisoner to Lisbon.

The King of Jorcon, having been driven out of his dominions by the Achinese, went to Malacca with eighty vessels, very poorly equipped, to demand assistance from the Portuguese against his enemy. This was refused, but at a later date, when the power of the Achinese had greatly increased, and Malacca was threatened by them, the Portuguese Governor of that place did not hesitate to ask from the King of Jorcon that assistance which was now denied to the latter.

Although not inclined to embark in a war with Achin,

the Governor of Malacca sent out a small squadron, under the command of Lopo de Sousa, to plunder the Dutch factory at Jambi. Here he found only four or five Dutchmen and a number of natives, but did not attempt to attack the place for fear of exposing to danger the son and son-in-law of the Commander of Malacca, who had accompanied him. The factory might, however, have been easily captured, and a large sum of money that was known to be kept there taken; but instead of carrying out his instructions, Lopo de Sousa made other enemies for the Portuguese by destroying some towns along the coast which had given no cause for hostilities against them.

The Tartars, who were now overrunning a great part of China, came to an engagement with the Chinese army, in 1618, and totally defeated it; they conquered the northern province of Leao Tong, and obliged the kingdom of Corea, which had previously been subject to China, to pay tribute. The Tartars then advanced towards Pekin, but were defeated and forced to retire.

At the height of this Tartar invasion, Gonçalo Teixeira, a Portuguese who was then at Pekin, having been entrusted with the conveyance of a present from the city of Macao to the mandarins, offered, in the name of that city, to assist the Chinese with a number of experienced soldiers. This offer was accepted, whereupon Gonçalo Teixeira returned to Macao, accompanied by Friar João Rodriguez, a Jesuit, to enlist troops for the enterprise. Four hundred men were raised, mostly Portuguese, but including a few Chinese who had been trained to musketry. Every soldier had a mulatto servant, provided at the expense of the Emperor of China, and their pay was on so liberal a scale that they all clothed themselves in costly apparel, and provided themselves with the best available arms.

These troops embarked under two captains, viz., Pedro Cordero, and Antonio Rodriguez del Cabo. At Quantung,

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a review of them was held in the presence of the Chinese, after which they were sent up the river in boats, and received liberal treatment from the natives. Having arrived at a mountain, they crossed it on horseback, and then again taking boats, they crossed nearly the whole of Kiangsi up to the capital of that province, Nan-tschang. The Chinese of Quantung, however, who were factors for the Portuguese, fearing that this expedition might be the means of their obtaining a footing in the country, whereby they would lose their agencies, represented to the magistrates that the incursion of these strangers into the country might be extremely dangerous to the kingdom: and, by means of bribes, they induced the very mandarins who had originally advocated the introduction of this Portuguese force into China, to persuade the Emperor that its employment would not be to the advantage of the State. They were thereupon sent back to Macao.

Constantine de Sa e Noronha, having succeeded Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira as General of Ceylon, erected a fort at Sofragan, and placed in it 100 Portuguese and 200 lascarines. He then marched against Madune, who had fortified himself at the two Corlas. Noronha stayed some days at Ceita-wacca to collect provisions, and placed thirty Portuguese in a high tower there, which was the only part then remaining of that once populous city. After a month's march through the country, he learned that Madune had fled, whereupon he advanced to his city, and finding it deserted, he burnt it.

Being unable to come up with the enemy, Noronha was about to return, when 500 of Madune's men appeared in his rear, commanded by Chacatien Zala. Placing some of his force in ambush they fell upon the enemy, of whom a number were killed, and thirty-five men of note were captured, including Chacatien himself. Shortly afterwards, the Portuguese were again attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed with a loss of thirty of their chief men

slain, amongst whom was the Prince of Uva, who called himself King.

On the Malabar coast, Dom Pedro, a cousin of the Kunhale who was executed at Goa, after having embraced the Catholic religion, fled from that city, and taking command of five paraos, he captured several Portuguese ships, seriously interfered with trade, and took possession of the islands of De las Vacas and Tristão Golayo. Dom Constantine de Sa sent out a force from Colombo, to put a stop to this man's aggressions, consisting of forty galliots, which joined eighteen other smaller vessels at Manar. These proceeded, under the command of Vitorio de Abreu, to the island of Golayo, where Abreu was informed by two blacks he found there that the five paraos had gone to some place near by for ammunition, and that before they returned he might possess himself of goods to the value of 30,000 ducats that had been left there in a house by Dom Pedro. He, however, doubting the truth of this information, took no action in the matter, but waited for the return of the paraos, which he engaged, but was defeated, losing twelve of the eighteen small vessels and 300 men killed, besides several who were taken prisoners, of whom he himself was one.

Dom Pedro shortly afterwards attacked the Portuguese merchant fleet, which was under convoy of a squadron, and took one of the vessels almost without opposition. The merchants of Negapatam desired the captains of the convoy to recover the ship, but they refused to make the attempt. A Spanish flyboat, however, happening to pass by just then, these merchants made a similar request to its captain, and he complying, retook it without difficulty.

Private intelligence having been received to the effect that the King of Jafanapatam was assisting Madune against the Portuguese, and that King having also attempted to evade the tribute he had undertaken to pay, Constantine de Sa sent Philip de Oliveira with 130 Por-

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A.D. 1618-19.

tuguese and 3,000 lascarines to demand the tribute. The King, relying upon his fortifications and 8,000 well-armed men he had within them, evaded the demand, whereupon Oliveira advanced. The King, however, sent a message requesting him not to proceed further, and he would fulfil his obligations; but this was only a stratagem to prevent the advance of the main body in order that he might cut off the van of the army, which was commanded by Luiz Cabral de Faria.

Oliveira, trusting in the King's message, sent to Faria to retire, but he had already been attacked and had to cut his way through a body of 1,000 natives. Oliveira at once went to his assistance, and defeated a larger body of Cingalese that were pressing on Faria's rear, whereupon the King of Jafanapatam fled across the river, but was captured and with him 8,000 crowns in money. The Portuguese troops behaved in an insulting manner to the Princesses by whom the King was accompanied, and who seeing his brother-in-law's ears cut off for the sake of the ear-rings he wore, took out his own ornaments and gave them to the man nearest to him.

Oliveira now ordered the King to give him a list of the Portuguese with whom he was in correspondence, which he did; and amongst others named was Oliveira himself, with an allowance of 2,000 crowns, and the late General Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira with 9,000 crowns. The King was sent to Goa, and Madune, having now lost his support, submitted himself to the Portuguese.

Andreu Botello da Costa, who was at Jafanapatam with six vessels, hearing that there was a large Danish ship at Galle which had taken some prizes, went after it, and after three hours' fight took it.

The Dutch, having captured a Portuguese ship bound from the Brazils, are said to have cast into the sea twenty of the crew with their hands and feet bound. The remainder of the men they carried as slaves to Jacatra, but these escaped to the English who had a factory twenty

leagues off, and were by them forwarded on to Malacca. These men carried with them a report they alleged to have been received from one of the English, that the latter had lost a ship at Sunda in which was the money given by Dom Christopher de Noronha at the Cape to avoid fighting; that the English had several times fought the Dutch by sea and land, always with advantage to themselves, and that the Dutch had taken the Governor who had been sent from Portugal to Angola, and carried him to Java.

Augustin Lobato, having sailed from Malacca with two ships and a galliot, he met a Dutch ship off Joatume, which he fought. After this, hearing that the Dutch had a factory at Bima, seven leagues distant, he attacked it, killing four and capturing three men, one of whom was the factor. He then pillaged the factory and did damage there to the extent of 20,000 crowns. He distributed 600 crowns which he took there amongst the soldiers, and retired after setting fire to the factory. He then destroyed seven towns in the neighbourhood of Ende. At Solor, Lobato landed and engaged the people there, of whom he killed a great number, but was himself killed by a Japanese as he was about to embark.

On the 10th November, 1619, the Conde de Redondo died from a swelling upon his back, the nature of which puzzled the ablest doctors at Goa. He was buried in the church of the Kings, a league down the river, where his father also had been interred, and which was the usual burying place for those who died in the country whilst holding the office of Viceroy.

When the Patents of Succession were opened on the death of the Conde de Redondo, the first one named was Ferdinão de Albuquerque, a gentleman now seventy years of age, during the last forty of which he had resided at Goa. He therefore succeeded as Governor, and although he unquestionably enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with India, it was generally felt that, owing to his age, he was hardly possessed of that vigour and energy which the

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necessities of the Portuguese position there demanded at that time.

A.D. 1620.

When Andreu Furtado slew the former King of Jafanapatam, Para Raja Cheygra Pandara assumed the Crown, which he wore for twenty-eight years. Trusting that the Viceroy would confirm his choice, he had named the son of the late King, who was only seven years of age, to succeed him, appointing his brother, Arcaquerari Pandara, as Regent until he should come of age. Changali Cumara, however, murdered the Regent and himself usurped the Crown. But the people rebelled against him, and he had only been able to establish himself on the throne by the aid of some troops sent to his assistance by the Naik of Tanjore. After this the Portuguese recognised him as King, but ultimately dethroned him.

At this time Jafanapatam was being governed by Philip de Oliveira, but the Arache Dom Luiz now stirred up the people of that place to enthrone a Prince at Remancor, and himself marched an army of 30,000 against the Portuguese who had fortified themselves in a pagoda. The majority of the troops who had accompanied Oliveira to Jafanapatam had already been sent away, and he now found himself with less than 100 men to resist the attack, a portion of these being with him in the pagoda, and the remainder in the Church of Our Lady. These few men, however, held out against the enemy for about a month, at the end of which time Andreu Coelho arrived with help by sea, and Luiz Teixeira brought reinforcements to the extent of 1,600 men by land. The latter was guilty of many barbarous atrocities as he marched through the country; he ordered men to be hacked in two with axes like trees, and opening the wombs of women, he forced into them the children they had been carrying in their arms.

With the reinforcements which had now arrived, Oliveira assumed the offensive, and after a severe battle he totally defeated the enemy with great slaughter. Immediately afterwards, however, the Prince of Remancor arrived with

his army, but Teixeira suddenly falling upon him, entirely routed his men, and the Prince surrendered himself.

The Arache Dom Luiz escaped, and having pursuaded the Naik of Tanjore that he might make himself King of Jafanapatam, the latter sent a force of 2,000 Badagaes, under the command of Chem Naik, the King of Carcas, who had, not long before, assisted Chingali against the Portuguese. Oliveira was fortified in the Church of Our Lady; but in November he sallied out and met the enemy, when a fierce fight ensued, in which there was considerable loss on both sides, and Oliveira himself was wounded. The enemy then retired to their trenches, but Oliveira having received a reinforcement of 1,000 men, fell upon them suddenly and defeated them with a great slaughter.

The Naik of Tanjore, after the defeat of his first army, raised more Badagaes, still hoping to make himself master of Jafanapatam, but these were no more successful than the former, and met with a disastrous defeat from Oliveira's troops.

The son of the late King of Jafanapatam, who had escaped from the hands of Chingali, and was now with some Franciscan friars, embraced the Catholic faith, and was baptised together with his mother and many of his retainers. He subsequently entered the Franciscan Order, at the same time making over his claim to the kingdom of Jafanapatam to the Portuguese.

Shah Abbas, of Persia, being now bent upon obtaining possession of the island and kingdom of Ormuz, Camber Beque, Khan of Lara, laid claim to it on the plea that a certain tribute had not been paid to him by that island; which, however, had been suspended since Affonso de Albuquerque first took possession of the place. He greatly embarrassed the trade there and captured several Portuguese merchants. Differences also arose with regard to the trade of silk with his kingdom, and as the Portuguese declined to admit the claims made on this subject, the Shah concluded an agreement for this trade with James

CHAP. VIII. King of England, with whom he also entered into a league for the capture of the island.

A.D. 1613-14. In the beginning of November, 1613, a letter from Philip III. warned the authorities in India that Robert Shirley had negotiated in England for vessels with which to attack Ormuz, and that he had started from Europe armed with powers to conclude a treaty with the Shah for commerce in silk goods. The Spanish King insisted that Ormuz should be fortified against the English, and requested that all possible means should be adopted for the capture of the ambassador to the King of Persia. Every effort to that effect, however, failed, although the officer charged with this matter, Dom Luiz da Gama, was a most intelligent man. Robert Shirley managed to escape him and passed into Persia.

In 1614 the Factors of the English East India Company at Surat attempted to open a trade with Persia. This project had been suggested by Mr. Richard Steele, who had gone to Aleppo to recover a debt from a merchant of that city. The debtor had fled to India, and Mr. Steele followed him through the Persian dominions, and arrived at Surat. On the report which he made to the factors there of the great advantages to be derived from a trade to Persia, they agreed to send him and Mr. Crowther, one of the Company's servants, into Persia to examine into the practicability of the speculation, and as to what harbours were fit for shipping, &c. In order to provide for their expenses they were furnished with letters of credit on Sir Robert Shirley, who was settled at Ispahan, and also letters to the King of Persia and to the Governors of the provinces through which they were to pass. Mr. Steele having described Jask, situated about ninety miles from Ormuz, as a convenient port at which trade might be commenced, was directed to proceed through Persia, by Aleppo, to England, and was strongly recommended to the Court of Directors for his ability and knowledge.

In the following year, the Agency at Surat dispatched a

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vessel with goods to Jask, where the expedition was favourably received, and a license granted to land the goods. Leaving two factors in Moghistan, Messrs. Barker and Connock, who had charge of the expedition, proceeded to Ispahan.

In 1617. Mr. Connock, the English East India Company's agent at Ispahan, wrote to England suggesting that Jask would be a suitable place for a fortification in Persia, and expressed an opinion that it might be easily obtained for that purpose. Later on (4th August) at an interview that Mr. Connock had with the Shah, his Majesty called for wine, and in a large bowl drank the health of the King of England, whom he called his "elder brother," and stated that "his friendship he did heartily esteem and tender, that he would grant to the English Jask or any other port they might require, and such freedom in every respect as in his honour he might grant." This was said in the presence of the Spanish agent, to whom the King "neither offered good word nor countenance."

News to this effect was at once communicated to Goa and Lisbon. Orders were sent out that at all hazards the English were to be prevented from trading with Persia, and, in order the better to enforce these instructions, Ruy Freire de Andrade was sent to cruise in the Persian Gulf with a fleet of five galleons.

Mr. Connock was succeeded as agent at Ispahan by Mr. Barker, and the latter, in 1618, obtained three phirmaunds in favour of the English, and these were followed by a treaty which gave them considerable facilities for trade in Persia. In the following year the agents at Ispahan delivered to the Shah a letter from King James.

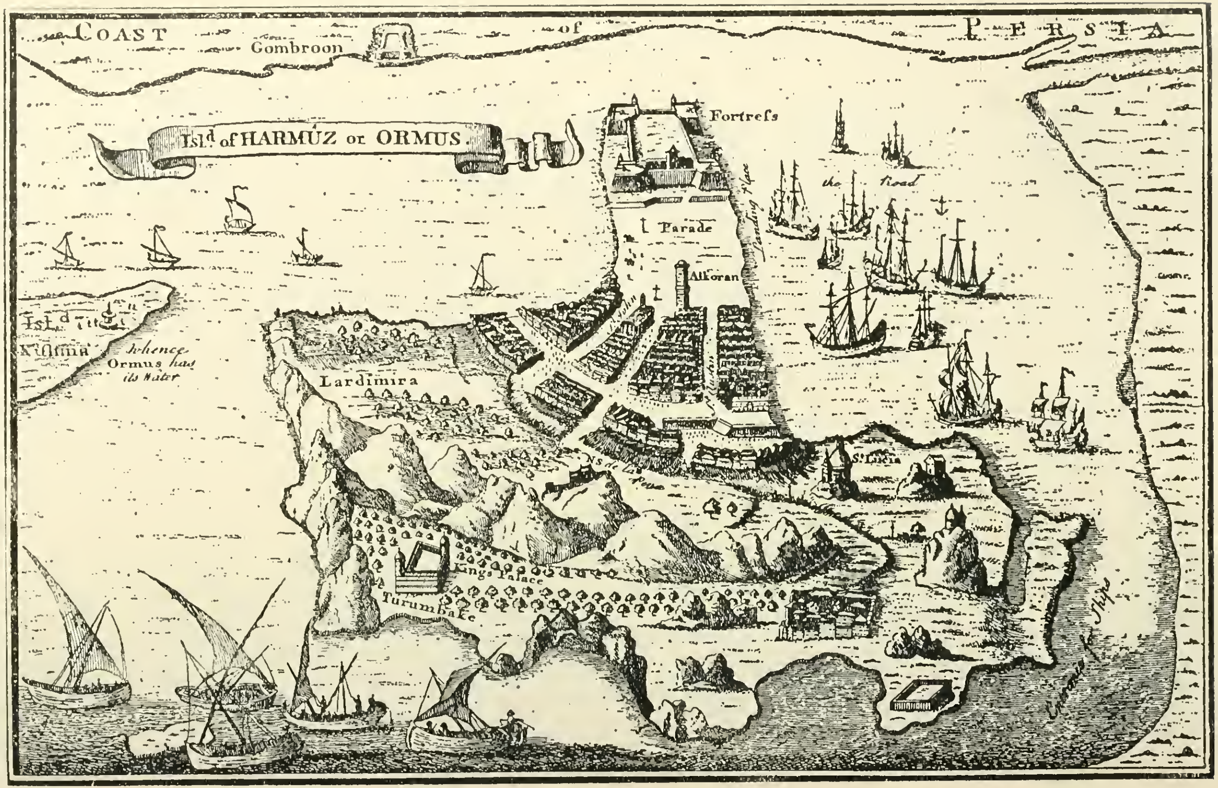
Subsequently the Shah intimated his design of recovering Ormuz from the Portuguese; and, on the arrival of the English caravan at Ispahan, the agents solicited the Shah's permission to establish a factory at Gombroon,

CHAP. VIII. that port being eight days' journey nearer Ispahan than the port of Jask.

A.D. 1620-21. In November, 1620, two of the East India Company's ships, the "Hart" and the "Eagle," had proceeded from Surat to Jask, but, on their attempting to enter the port, found it blockaded by Ruy Freire's fleet, which being superior in force, they were obliged to return to Surat Here they were joined by the "London" and the "Roebuck," with which they returned to Jask, where an indecisive action took place on the 17th December. The Portuguese, however, gave way, and allowed the English to enter the port, and then retired to Ormuz to refit. Shortly afterwards they returned to Jask Roads to renew the action, and another engagement took place on the 28th December, when Ruy Freire's fleet was defeated. During the second engagement Captain Andrew Shilling, who commanded the English fleet, was struck by a shot on the shoulder, from the effects of which he died on the 6th January, 1621.

The success of the English in these actions greatly raised their prestige, and facilitated the purchases which their factors were making of Persian silks. Mr. Monnox had, at this time, sent a caravan from Ispahan to Jask with several hundred bales of silk. On the journey it was stopped in Moghistan by the Khan of Shiras, not so much with the object of stopping the trade, as to force the English to assist the Persians against the Portuguese. Again, on the arrival of English ships at Jask, in December, 1621, the Khan refused to allow them to take in their cargoes unless they would previously agree to assist the Persians in repelling Portuguese aggressions, and they were consequently compelled to accede to this condition.

In accordance with the arrangement consequently made for this purpose, an expedition, consisting of an English fleet of five ships and four pinnaces, was dispatched from Surat, under the command of Captains Blithe and Weddel,



THE ISLAND OF ORMUZ.

From an old Engraving.

to encounter the Portuguese fleet in the Persian Gulf, whilst the Persians prepared to attack Ormuz by a land force.

The Arabs, who had joined with the Persians, succeeded in capturing Julfar and Dola from the Portuguese, which being the sources whence they principally derived their water supplies, soon placed the garrison of Ormuz in some distress. Ruy Freire de Andrade also divided his fleet, leaving some of his vessels at Ormuz, and taking others with him to Kishm, where he was erecting a new fort. Having completed this work, Ruy Freire sent out vessels to scour the neighbouring coasts which, besides destroying 400 sail, burnt the towns of Boami, Camir, Congua, Astan, and Doçar, whilst at Niquilay he took and destroyed four ships, and more than eighty large barques.

The English fleet arrived before Ormuz on the 22nd January, 1622, and anchored that night in front of the town, about two leagues from the castle, in expectation that the enemy's fleet, which consisted of five galleons and some fifteen or twenty frigates, would accept an engagement. They, however, remained anchored close to the castle. The next day, having learned that Ruy Freire, with the remainder of his vessels, was at his new fort on Kishm, the English fleet proceeded thither, and speedily forced a surrender. This place, it would appear, had already been reduced to considerable straits by the Persian army, and could not probably have held out much longer. The English offered Ruy Freire honourable terms if he would surrender, but he refused, thinking that ships would arrive in the night to carry him to Ormuz and dismantle the fort. Being disappointed in this respect, he proposed to burn the fort and to die honourably in the field, but his men refused thus to throw away their lives to no purpose, and they began to desert, leaping from the walls into the sea to save themselves. Further resistance being under these circumstances useless, after many meetings and negotiations Ruy Freire surrendered to the English on the

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1st February. He was sent prisoner on board the "Lion" to Surat, from which vessel, however, he and three of his companions managed to escape in a skiff one night, whilst the vessel was at anchor in the Surat Roads. Having obtained a vessel he returned to Ormuz; but that place having already fallen he proceeded to the Portuguese settlement at Muscat.

On the 9th February, the English fleet proceeded to besiege Ormuz, in co-operation with the Persian army, where an obstinate resistance was made. During the siege the commander of the fort died, and was succeeded by Simão de Mello, who, as soon as Kishm had fallen, began to treat for peace with the Persians, but to no effect, for the bombardment was continued with greater vigour than before. Luiz de Brito, who was in the fort, having agreed with others to give up the place, and so save their lives, was let down from the wall by a rope, and proceeded to the English captain, with whom he concluded the articles of surrender, and returned to the town to put them into execution. Simão de Mello pretended to oppose a surrender, whereupon the soldiers got up a mutiny (which, it was believed, they did at his suggestion), and he thereupon agreed to capitulate. The town was accordingly handed over to the English on the 22nd May, and the entire Portuguese population, comprising some 2,000 of both sexes and all ages, were sent to Muscat, leaving all their treasure in the enemy's hands.

At a trial which subsequently took place, of the several officers concerned in the loss of Ormuz, Ruy Freire de Andrade was exonerated from all blame, principally, it would seem, because his services were required in the Persian Gulf, where his name was a terror to the Arabs. Dom Gonsalvo da Sylveira, captain-mor of the galleys, attributed his not fighting the enemy to his captains having refused to assist him; one of these was Luiz de Brito de Vasconcellos who, after a trial which lasted some months, was condemned to eight years' trans-

portation to Trincomali, but in 1643 that sentence was quashed. Simão de Mello, captain of the fort, was, however, condemned to death, but as he had escaped to the land of the Moors, his sentence was carried out in effigy.

Some historians represent Macao as being about this time a place of considerable wealth; but if that be correct it must have improved very materially within the preceding few years. Writing to the Viceroy on the 28th February, 1613, the King of Spain remarked: "The Bishop of China writes to me, saying that affairs in Macao are in a very low state, so much so that even beggars cannot live there; the priests have received no money for some time, and are, in consequence, unable to obtain the necessaries of life. As it is but just and right that these people should be paid, I charge you to see that payment be made to the bishop and clergy of all amounts due to them." In the same year an attempt was made by certain Chinese mandarins to turn the Portuguese out of the country, and one of them sent the following complaint to Macao:—

"I am informed that the Portuguese do not conform to our laws, and if they do not mend their ways we will have them turned out. If you wish to remain here in security you must agree to the following: 1. Not to introduce Japanese servants on penalty of death. 2. Not to buy any Chinese natives, as directly you buy them you have their hair cut and dress them in Portuguese clothes. 3. Not to erect any new houses without permission. 4. Any merchant arriving here who is single is forbidden to land, but must remain on board his ship." In reply, the people of Macao declared that they would obey these laws, as they wished to live in peace with the Chinese.

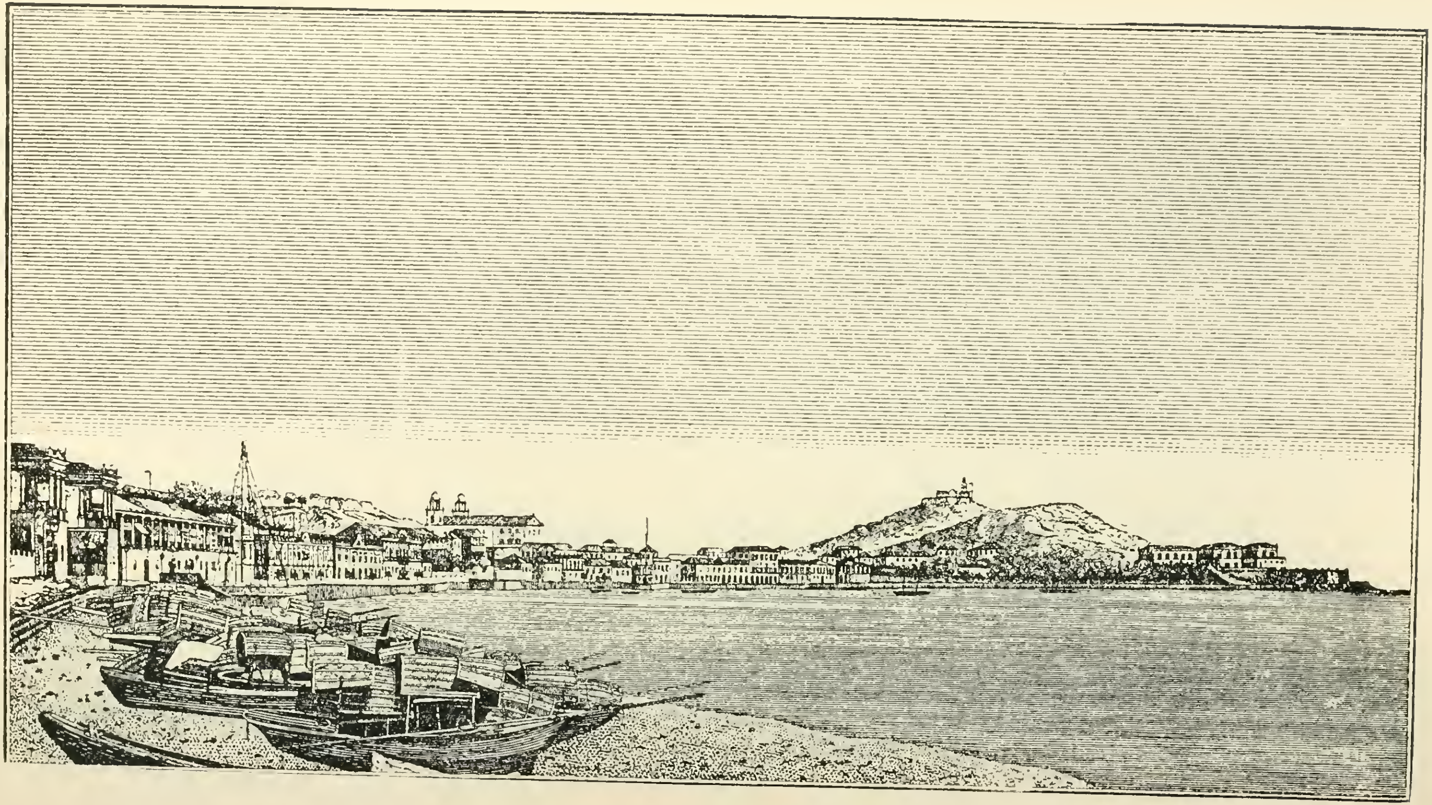
Shortly after this, in 1615, the King of Spain gave instructions for fortifying Macao, and directed the Captain of that place to keep his plans secret, and to proceed with the erection of a fort. In the event of the mandarins asking any questions on the subject, he was to reply that

CHAP VIII. A.D. 1621-22.

it was for their good, inasmuch as it was to protect the place against the continued attacks of pirates who infested the neighbourhood.

In an account given of the place about 1621, it is represented as containing about 1,000 Portuguese inhabitants, all of whom were rich, and amongst the best families in India; and since the portions given to daughters there were very considerable, many persons of quality resorted thither for wives. The duties paid by ships trading thence to Japan are said, at this time, to have amounted to 300,000 xeraphins, which sum was raised by a ten per cent. duty. The yearly expenses for the maintenance of the fortifications and garrison were set down at 40,000 ducats; the voyages to Japan, with embassies and presents for the King and officials, at 25,000; the house called "la Miseracordia" spent 8,000 or 9,000 in works of charity; besides which the city maintained two hospitals, three parish churches, and five monasteries, and repeatedly sent alms in addition to the neighbouring necessitous Catholics in China, Aynam, Japan, Tonquin, Cochin China, Cambodia, and Siam.

On the 29th May, 1622, four vessels belonging to the fleet of defence appeared before Macao, two of which were Dutch and two English; the latter hailed the Dutchmen as they passed, but receiving no reply, doubted at first whether they were friends or enemies, and they then stood away for Japan. A fleet of Dutch ships, to the number of fourteen or fifteen, had been prepared with the view of the capture of Macao; but the two above referred to having arrived early, attempted to take the place by surprise. As soon as they arrived off the bar they fired into the town, whereupon Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho hastily summoned all the people on shore, formed them into companies, and fortified all the parts that were in a weak state. Observing that the beach at Cacilhas, about a quarter of a league from the city, afforded an easy place for landing, a sandbank was speedily erected there for its protection.



VIEW OF THE CITY OF MACAO.

From an old Engraving.

At night Lopo Sarmento embarked with eleven small craft, intending to impede any attempt at landing; but the next morning the Dutch ships left for the island of Viados, intending to intercept certain Portuguese vessels then expected from India. Having ascertained the object of the Dutch, Lopo Sarmento sent off seven well-armed craft to convoy those vessels, in which they were successful, as they not only brought the Indian ships safely into harbour, but also some vessels which had arrived from Solor, Borneo, and Macassar.

Matters remained in this position for some days, but on the 21st June thirteen more Dutch ships arrived off the bar, viz., nine large ships and four patachos. On the 23rd June, the Dutch approached with two large ships, carrying 25- and 30-pounder guns, with which they attacked the bulwark of S. Francisco from two till six p.m. The battle waxed very hot, but in the end these two ships were totally disabled. Firing ceased at night, but began again at daybreak, when the Dutch also sent a number of boats to the Cacilhas beach, where, under cover of their guns, 800 musketeers and a number of Japanese landed, who soon captured the Portuguese entrenchments. Seeing the defenders in full flight, the invaders pursued them, and captured the first height; they then followed the Portuguese as far as a place called Fontinha, when three well-directed shots from S. Paulo caused them to halt.

While this was taking place, Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho was, with the remainder of the force, some way off; but, being informed that the enemy had captured the heights, he hastened to meet them, and joining with those who were retreating, made the enemy retire from Fontinha, whereupon they made for the hills. Lopo Sarmento, however, outmanœuvred them, and was the first to reach the summit. Here a severe fight took place, with the result that the Dutch were eventually driven down with great slaughter. Three hundred of

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1622.

the enemy were killed, besides a number who were drowned in the attempt to reach their ships. The Portuguese captured from them eight standards, besides over 500 muskets and swords and one cannon.

After this, fearing that another attempt on the town might be made by the Dutch, the fortifications were considerably increased and strengthened. A wall was built round the entire town, in which were six bastions which were together armed with forty-four guns, some of which were 50-pounders. A neighbouring mountain that commanded one of the bastions was also fortified and mounted with ten heavy guns.

In the year 1622, the Government of Ferdinão de Albuquerque came to an end. His civil administration of the Portuguese possessions in the East is considered to have been good; but in his military operations he was unfortunate, especially in respect to Ormuz. It has been remarked as a curious coincidence that, during the three years of his administration, he never once received a letter from the King of Spain.

CHAPTER IX.

Appointment of Dom Affonso de Noronha as Viceroy—Capture of Bahia by the Dutch—Death of Philip III. of Spain—End of Truce with Holland—Decay of Spanish Greatness—Appointment of Dom Francisco da Gama as Viceroy—Fight with Dutch Ships off Mozambique—Condition of the Fortresses in India—Establishment of a One per Cent. Consulate—Numbers of Ecclesiastics in India—Blockade of Goa by English and Dutch Vessels—Attempts to Destroy the Trade of the English and Dutch in India—Establishment of a Place of Trade at Bussora—Fight with English and Dutch Vessels off Ormuz—Orphan Girls sent to India to Obtain Husbands—Letters of Marque Issued to Private Persons in India—Revenues Absorbed by the Maintenance of Numerous Priests—Limits Placed on the Numbers of Monastic Institutions—Malacca Reduced to a Second-Rate Dependency—Defeat of a Dutch Fleet off Macao—Return of the Conde de Vidigueira to Portugal—Defeat of the Army of the King of Kandy—Siege of Malacca by the King of Achin—Defeat of the Achinese—Dom Michael de Noronha Nominated Viceroy—Defeat of the Portuguese at Uva—Attack on Colombo by the King of Kandy—Establishment of a Company of Commerce—Objections to the English Trading with India—Courten's Association—Attempt to Recover Ormuz—Portuguese Victories in Ceylon—Treaty with the King of Kandy—Arrogance of the Jesuits in India—Expulsion of the Portuguese from Bengal—Charter of an English Ship for a Voyage to China—Expeditions Against Paliacate—Condition of India.

Dom Affonso de Noronha having been appointed to succeed Ferdinão de Albuquerque as Viceroy of India, set out from Lisbon, with four ships and six galleons, on the 29th April, 1621. He was the last Governor of India appointed by Philip III. of Spain. CHAP. IX. A.D. 1621.

Dom Affonso was not, however, destined to reach India, as all his fleet, with the exception of one vessel, were forced to put back; but the other, which had started a little in advance of the rest, succeeded in

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1621. reaching Goa. This was a serious blow to the Government of India, as these vessels carried with them considerable reinforcements, which, under the then existing circumstances, were sorely needed.

Bahia had at this time been taken by the Dutch, and other losses were beginning to fall heavily on the dual State. The Conde, Duke de Olivares, recognising the weakness of the kingdom, endeavoured to remedy it by projecting the organisation of a permanent army of 100,000 foot soldiers and 10,000 horse, with a fleet sufficient for the transportation of troops for the defence of the coast, and for convoying merchant ships.

The kingdom of Portugal refused to obey the injunctions of this all-powerful minister, and as a result it was upon that State his resentment weighed most heavily. Not only did he force that kingdom to construct expensive works of defence, but also compelled the city of Lisbon to make great sacrifices in order to erect entrenchments which were never garrisoned. As there were at this time eight ships anchored in the port of Lisbon, two only of which were seaworthy, Olivares ordered them all to leave the Tagus to escort the Indian fleet then on its way home, and he appointed Dom Manoel de Menezes to the command of it. This officer represented the danger of so doing, but in vain. The result was as expected. The Indian fleet was met with, but subsequently a storm separated the vessels, and, with the exception of the galleon "S. Thiago," all the ships were wrecked, and so complete was this disaster that the whole of the cargoes were lost, and very few lives saved. The crews of the ship commanded by Dom Manoel de Menezes, and of the galleon "S. Filippa" were the only ones saved.

The loss of this fleet completely ruined the Portuguese navy, and a large subsidy was at once exacted, not only to repair the losses of the Indian ships, but the loss endured by the Treasury, as well as to aid the Portu-

guese possessions which were now being seriously threatened.

A.D. 1621.

Philip III. of Spain died on the 31st March, 1621, and was succeeded by Philip IV., who ascended the throne a few days afterwards. The same year the truce with Holland came to an end, and the ports of Portugal were again closed against Dutch merchants. Hostilities between Spain and the Netherlands at once recommenced; and, as has been related above, the latter government lost no time in making an attack upon the Portuguese possessions in Macao. Philip IV. was not a man of any great moral weight or strength of character; the Spanish power had passed its zenith, and its disruption and decay had already set in; great minds, such as those which had built up the vast fabric of monarchy over which Philip II. had reigned, now no longer were available for the service of the State, and its rapid dismemberment and decadence was in full course of accomplishment. The legacy of ruin which Spain had since inherited had of necessity to be shared by the Portuguese State; and when about nineteen years later the latter threw off the detested yoke, it was already too late to reclaim the errors of the past, and that State which had revolutionised and astonished the world by its heroic deeds could only dwell upon the memory of its past greatness, and had to take a secondary place in the comity of European nations.

Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira, who, it will be remembered, had left India in the year 1600 in great disrepute, after having held the government there for three years, had repeatedly endeavoured to obtain a reappointment as Viceroy, as he desired to prove to the people of India that they had been mistaken in their judgment of his actions when he had formerly held that appointment. During the life of Dom Philip III., he had been unable to attain this object, but upon the succession of Philip IV. to the throne, he at last succeeded.

CHAP. IX.

A.D. 1622.

On receiving the appointment, however, he wrote to the King reminding him that he had accepted it after it had been offered to and refused by three others, thus proving that the position was not much sought after in those days. As it turned out, it would have been better for the Conde de Vidigueira had he also declined it.

He sailed from Lisbon on the 18th March, 1622, with four ships, besides which there had left for India, at an earlier day, two galleons and two pinks, under the command of Sancho de Tovar e Silva. When off Natal, a flash of lightning struck Dom Francisco's ship and burnt the colours, besides doing some slight damage to the vessel, but without injuring any of the crew. After crossing the line, two of his vessels parted company and proceeded to Goa, where they arrived before him in the month of August. The third ship also avoided his escort and kept behind him, it being believed that they did so advisedly on account of his unpopularity.

When off Mozambique, the Viceroy, who had again fallen in with some of his fleet, encountered five Dutch ships, and a fight ensued, in which the Portuguese appear to have had the worst of it, since they lost three vessels, including those of the Viceroy and of the vice-admiral. The former and another ship were driven on the sands and wrecked. After removing from these what goods, rigging, and ammunition could be saved, the vessels were burnt to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. The Viceroy shipped all the goods and what men he could on board some galliots, with which he arrived at Goa in September.

The Conde de Vidigueira's first act was to make a close examination into the state of affairs then existing in India, and he addressed many letters to the King on the subject. In these he reported that everything in India was in as bad a state as possible; that the fortresses were ruined and without guns; that Ormuz, which had produced the largest revenues of any port the Portuguese possessed in

the East, had been lost; and that Cochin, which used to be the most prosperous settlement, had then hardly any trade, was almost in a state of ruin, and without any means of defence, whilst the enemies of Portugal were in great force in the Indian seas. The only thing to be done was, in his opinion, to make peace with the Dutch on any terms, even to allowing them to trade at Portuguese ports.

About the same time the Bishop of Cochin, in a letter addressed to the King of Spain, observed that the men then being sent out to India were unfit for soldiers, since their principal thought in an engagement would be to cut and run.

Notwithstanding the persistent opposition which the Portuguese government offered to the establishment of the Dutch in India, it appears that certain individual Portuguese in various places traded directly with them; and even ecclesiastics engaged in this illicit traffic, hoping that their position would save them from suspicion. To such an extent was this carried on, that it was found necessary to send out orders from home directing that anyone caught so offending should be punished. The Viceroy further advised the King to send out a general-inspector, who, in order to enforce obedience to the laws, should have, not only civil, but also ecclesiastical authority. All sorts of means appear to have been adopted in order to increase the legitimate trade, and, amongst others, the wearing of certain head-dresses in India was prohibited, as these interfered with the sale of fine linen. At the same time, in order to provide artillery for manning the forts, a one per cent. consulate was established at various ports.

A large amount of the State revenues in India appear at this time to have been absorbed by the several religious orders in the country, and the Conde de Vidigueira, writing with reference to these in 1623, remarked that whilst they were being supported by the government they had

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1623.

ample funds of their own, whereas the public coffers were empty. The numbers of friars in India were also excessive in most places. In Goa, the Viceroy remarked, they numbered nearly double as many as the other Portuguese inhabitants, and the proportion of them was nearly the same in the other cities of India.

In January, 1623, three English and four Dutch vessels belonging to the fleet of defence blockaded Goa, with the view of preventing the Portuguese from sending any ships home to Portugal that year. The Viceroy had no vessels in the harbour with which to raise the blockade, and he had therefore quietly to endure the presence of the enemy in daily expectation of an attack. Having, however, attained their object without further hostile measures, the blockade was raised, and the combined fleet retired from before that port on the 19th March following.

Misfortunes were now beginning to fall heavily upon the Portuguese, and "the stars in their courses fought against" them. Not only were they heavily beset by enemies in their distant foreign possessions, but the elements appear to have combined against them to prevent the much needed reinforcements from reaching their destination. This year (1623) eight vessels sailed from Lisbon in two fleets, one consisting of three ships under the command of Dom Antonio Tello e Menezes, and the other of three galleons and two pinks commanded by Dom Filippe Mascarenhas. These carried amongst them a force of 5,000 men. One ship was forced to return to Lisbon, and was lost at the mouth of the Tagus, but the men and some of the goods were saved; another was lost on the island of St. Helena, but part of her lading was saved and placed on board the other ships. The third ship and two of the galleons were lost off Mozambique, and one of the pinks was wrecked on the coast of Arabia, through the unskilfulness of her pilot. One galleon and one pink only reached India, and of the reinforcements that had accompanied these ill-fated fleets, a great number had

died of sickness besides those that perished by shipwreck.

To add to the troubles of the Portuguese in India, the Dutch had by this time obtained a dangerous predominance of trade, and in a letter of 1623 the King impressed upon the Viceroy the necessity for traversing their commerce, since it was most important, in the royal interests, to put a stop as early as possible to the efforts of the English, Dutch, and French to take part in, and appropriate, the commerce of the East Indies, China, and Persia. Considering that it was now practically impossible to turn out the English and Dutch by force of arms, because their strength in the Eastern seas was great, and the Royal Treasury was exhausted, it was pointed out that cunning and diligence must be employed in order to destroy their trade, which, it was argued, was the real source of their strength. To this end it was proposed to allow pepper and cinnamon, which were then prohibited in Persia, to be taken there, forming a company of careful merchants in imitation of the Dutch, and coming to an agreement with the Shah for an exchange of spices for silk, reasonable prices being fixed for all articles, so that the combination might be lasting. Spices and cinnamon would be forwarded on to Moscovia and Turkey, and from thence be spread through Port S. Nicholas and the Levant over those northern countries which Holland then supplied. The commerce of the Dutch would thus, it was hoped, be destroyed, or they would have to compete against lower prices. This scheme, though ingenious in its conception, appears, however, never to have been even attempted to be put into operation.

After the loss of Ormuz, the Portuguese established a place of trade in Bussora, which also became the head of a religious community, and a seminary for learning was established there.

In the year 1624, two ships and six galleons left Lisbon, under the command of Nuno Alvarez Botello, the whole

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1624-25.

of which arrived safely at Goa. Ruy Freire de Andrade, who now had again the command of a fleet in the Persian Gulf, endeavoured to cut off provisions from reaching Ormuz, and also harassed the trade there by attacking vessels that were resorting to that port; but on the arrival of a combined English and Dutch fleet he was forced to desist. Having received reinforcements from the Viceroy of the vessels recently arrived from Lisbon, Ruy Freire sent Nuno Alvarez Botello, with eight galleons, against the combined fleet. Botello sailed at the beginning of 1625, and met twelve ships of the enemy in the sea of Ormuz, when an engagement ensued, during which Ruy Freire came up with a reinforcement of three galliots. Two of the Dutch ships were disabled, but the fight seems to have ended without any particular advantage to either side. The Portuguese had many killed and wounded, and amongst the latter was their admiral, Nuno Alvarez Botello. After the fight, the English and Dutch vessels retired to the Bay of Comoran.

About the middle of February the two fleets again met and engaged one another, when another indecisive battle was fought, but both sides suffered considerably; the Portuguese vessels were nearly dismasted, and lost two captains and forty soldiers, but the enemy are said to have lost 1,000 men in the three encounters, besides three ships which were sunk. After this the English and Dutch vessels returned to Comoran, and the Portuguese fleet to Muscat.

Botello left Muscat in September, and having captured a richly loaded vessel for Mecca, off Soveral, he ascertained from those on board that the enemy's fleet was then at Surat; he proceeded thither, but they declined his challenge for another engagement. Botello thereupon sailed for Daman, near which place he met three large English ships, carrying two tiers of guns, which he fought for three days, with no decisive results, after which the combatants parted and went away in their respective directions.

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1625-26.

The enemies of Portugal in the East were now becoming powerful, both with ships and men, many of their ships being large and heavily armed. To add to the difficulties of the Portuguese, the revenues at their several ports were considerably diminished, owing to an extensive system of smuggling, more especially at Goa and in Ceylon. In order therefore to provide funds for the repair of their fortresses, it became necessary to devote the proceeds of special vessels and voyages to that purpose: but these were also sometimes given for the benefit of particular individuals. There appears to have been no proper account taken at this time of the land revenues of the State, but most of the villages near the Portuguese settlements were farmed out to contractors, or awarded to persons for their individual benefit. Not unfrequently also the appointments held by those who had died in the service of the State against European enemies were given to their sons, and even occasionally allowed to pass to their widows when they left no sons.

It had for some time been customary to send out orphan girls to India, from orphanages at Lisbon, with the view of getting them husbands and so providing for them, and, at the same time, with the view of furnishing wives of their own nation to the Portuguese in India, to prevent them from marrying native Indian women. In many instances these orphans were also provided with dowries by the State, which occasionally took the form of appointments in the Government service, which, though given to the girls themselves, were of course intended to be filled by their husbands. Appointments were similarly given to the daughters of Indian officials on their marriage, in consideration of the good services rendered to the State by their respective parents; in one case this dowry took the form of the appointment of Governor of Cranganor. In consequence of the necessities of the State rendering it desirable to limit these appointments, with the view of having a greater number to dispose of by sale, orders were

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1627.

issued, in 1627, to the effect that whenever appointments were given to orphan girls on their marriage they were to be limited to a period of three years only.

Owing to the want of vessels to resist the Dutch and English in the Indian Seas, the Conde de Vidigueira resorted to the plan of issuing letters of marque to certain private persons in Cochin, to fit out privateers to prey upon any ships of those nations they might meet with.

Not only was the Viceroy wanting in ships, men, and funds to meet the exigencies of the State, but what money was raised was too often misappropriated or devoted to other purposes. At an early date, a one per cent. tax had been levied for the support of the clergy and for other pious purposes; but in 1621 it was ordered that this should be appropriated to the support of the wives and children of those who had died in the public service. Subsequently, a two per cent. consular duty was levied at certain ports, with the view of raising a fund for the equipment of a fleet to turn the Dutch out of India. In spite, however, of every precaution, the revenues of the State still continued to be eaten up by the maintenance of large numbers of priests, and by defalcations on the part of persons holding the highest positions in the administration.

The overbearing arrogance of the religious orders in India appear at last to have reached a climax, and instructions were consequently sent from Portugal that the numbers of certain conventual institutions should be limited. This was followed a few years later by orders prohibiting the erection of any more convents or monasteries.

Before the conclusion of the Viceroyalty of the Conde de Vidigueira, the King of Achin fitted out a fleet of thirty-five galleys against Malacca. Dom Franciso Coutinho, with sixteen ships, burnt thirty-four of them, and either killed or took prisoners 3,000 men, besides capturing 800 pieces of cannon. Owing to the continued wars

with Achin and the rivalry of the Dutch, Malacca, which had at one time been almost the most important and flourishing centre of trade in the East, was now reduced to a very second-rate dependency, and its revenues had fallen to 3,000 cruzados.

At Macao, the Government was in no better position. On the 10th June, 1627, four Dutch ships appeared before that port with the view of attacking a fleet which had been prepared there for a journey to Japan. For want of money and vessels the Governor was powerless to resist the enemy, whereupon some rich merchants in the place fitted out five vessels which went out and attacked them. The Dutch admiral's ship was boarded and burnt, thirty-seven of her crew being killed and fifty taken prisoners. The guns, ammunition, treasury, and provisions were also secured. After the loss of this ship the other three vessels retired.

Orders now reached India that the Conde de Vidigueira should hand over his office to Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas; but as that officer had in the meanwhile returned to Spain, he surrendered the government to D. F. Luiz de Brito, Bishop of Cochin. He then returned to Portugal with the homeward bound fleet in 1628; and, although his administration in India had been conspicuously successful, on his arrival at Lisbon he found himself beset by numerous charges of having disregarded certain laws, and by so doing of having incurred unauthorised expenditure during his tenure of office, and his estate was accordingly made responsible to the Crown for the repayment of the same. Another charge brought against him was that, by adopting a system of selling voyages, the profits thereof, which would otherwise have gone to the Crown, were diverted to the benefit of private individuals.

There is not much of importance to record during the short government of D. F. Luiz de Brito. In Ceylon, Constantino de Sa e Noronha, the captain-general of

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1629.

the island, who had erected a fort at Trincomali in 1623, now built another at the port of Batticaloa. This gave great offence to the King of Kandy, and he declared war against the Portuguese; whereupon F. Francisco Negram sent to inform Noronha that if he would at once attack Kandy he might with ease capture the King, who was there and totally unprepared for a defence. Noronha, however, neglected to act on this advice, and delayed commencing hostile operations for a time, and so lost the opportunity. He, however, met the Kandyan army, and totally defeated it, whereupon the King fell back upon Uva, and Noronha having entered Kandy, totally destroyed and burned that city.

D. F. Luiz de Brito died in July, 1629, and the next patent of succession being opened, there was some doubt on whom the appointment was intended to devolve, owing to some inaccuracy in the name, but it was finally decided in favour of Nuno Alvarez Botello.

The King of Achin, having conceived a desire to recover possession of Malacca, made his first hostile demonstration against the Portuguese by imprisoning their ambassador, who was then at Achin. He then made great preparations for the siege, which he determined to conduct in person. The Achinese general, Laçamane, opposed this design, whereupon Marraja, another officer who was anxious to obtain the King's favour, offered to undertake the conquest of that town. Marraja was thereupon appointed to the command of the fleet, and Laçamane to that of the land forces. The King set out with a fleet of nearly 250 vessels, wherein were 20,000 men and a large quantity of artillery. Amongst these vessels were forty-seven galleys of unusual size and strength, being nearly 100 feet in length and of proportionate breadth. The King was so sure of success that he embarked with a large quantity of treasure, together with his wife and

children. The rest of the fleet, however, by some accident, sailed without him, and arrived before Malacca at the beginning of July.

Nuno Alvarez Botello, as soon as he had assumed the office of Governor, which he did on the 2nd August, left the viceregal palace at Goa, and took up his residence on the shore, the better to enable him to push forward his preparations for the relief of Malacca ; and with such expedition were these made that, by the beginning of September, he had collected together a body of 500 Portuguese, a good train of artillery, besides an abundance of arms and ammunition, and he had thirty vessels fully equipped and ready for sea, with which he set sail on the 22nd September, leaving Dom Lourenço da Cunha in command of the Civil Government of Goa, Nuno Alvarez Pereira in command of the Military, and Gonçalo Pinto de Fonseca, the High Chancellor, in charge of the administration of Justice. Nuno Alvarez Botello met with four storms, which delayed the arrival of the fleet at its destination. On his way he put in at Pulubutum, where he found one vessel from Cochin, and two others from Negapatam, which there joined his fleet. This he divided into three squadrons, of one of which Botello himself took the command, and the other two he gave to the Vice-Admiral Coelho and to Dom Hierome da Silveyra respectively. These arrived off Malacca in the afternoon of the 22nd October.

Whilst Botello was completing his arrangements, and on the voyage to Malacca, the siege of that place was already in progress. The King of Achin's forces landed immediately after their arrival and marched towards the castle, situated between the city and Pangor. Antonio Pinto de Fonseca, with 200 men, endeavoured to arrest their progress, and, charging the enemy, killed over 300 without losing a man. João Suarez Vivos, who commanded at Iller with 350 Portuguese, checked the

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advance of the Achinese for a time, but, being overpowered by numbers, was at last obliged to abandon that post and retire.

The enemy then advanced and took possession of Mount S. João, where they erected a battery from which they bombarded the town. The Capuchin Convent of "Madre de Dios," being an important position for the protection of the fort, was entrusted to the defence of Diogo Lopez de Fonseca, who, after having held it against the enemy for fifty days, made a sally with 200 men, who succeeded in driving back 2,000 of the enemy. After this Fonseca fell sick and was succeeded by Francisco Carvallo de Maya, who continued to hold it against the Achinese forces; but ultimately it was bombarded with such severity that the place became untenable, whereupon the building was levelled with the ground and then abandoned.

The enemy at once rushed in and took possession of the position, where they erected fortifications out of the materials of the ruined buildings, and Laçamane established his headquarters there with a force of 3,000 men. The Achinese had also erected fortifications at S. João, at Iller, at S. Lourenço, and other places, all of which were connected with one another by covered ways. Besides this, they had placed boats on the river to attack the city from that side.

Nuno Alvarez Botello now sent João Suarez Vivos with 220 Portuguese to attack Laçamane's position. Setting out one night he surprised the place, and having killed about 100 men, the rest fled, and Vivos then retired with the cannon he took there into the city.

When affairs were in this position a fleet arrived from the King of Pahang, carrying 2,000 men to the assistance of the Portuguese. Shortly afterwards, Michael Pereira Botello arrived with five sail from S. Thomé, and at the end of October also arrived Nuno Alvarez Botello with his fleet.

The enemy were greatly disconcerted at the arrival of

these reinforcements, and a number of their vessels being then in the Pongor river, about a league from the fort, were unable to escape in the face of Botello's ships. He proceeded up the river in force and obliged the Achinese to abandon their advance works, whereupon they retired to "Madre de Dios."

Botello then, putting as many men as he could in thirty-three lighter vessels, as the ships could not go up the river on account of want of depth of water, proceeded further up the Pongor, whereupon the enemy abandoned their works at "Madre de Dios" and "S. João," but rapidly entrenched themselves again in the vicinity of their fleet. Botello speedily attacked them, and having gained some considerable advantage, proposed terms of surrender, which the Achinese general however declined.

Marraja being now severely pressed, attempted to escape in the night in his smaller vessels, intending to leave the main fleet behind. His movements were, however, detected, and he was forced back after a slight engagement. The enemy then endeavoured to force their way out of the river by means of their larger vessels, whereupon due preparations were made to resist them. One of their largest galleys, called "The Terror of the World," coming on in advance, Botello sent Francisco Lopez to attack her, and after a fight of two hours she was captured, but not before 500 out of the 700 men she carried had been killed, with a loss to the Portuguese of only seven.

On the 25th November, the enemy again attempted to force their way through the Portuguese fleet, but without success. Numbers of them were captured, and others leaping into the water escaped to the woods. Laçamane then sent in a flag of truce with Commissioners to treat for peace, but Botello replied that no treaty could be entertained until the Achinese delivered up Pedro de Abreu, the Portuguese Ambassador, whom they had imprisoned. After waiting for a short time and receiving no response,

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the Portuguese resumed the attack on the enemy's position with their cannon.

Intelligence reached Botello on the last day of November that Marraja was killed, and, at the same time, that the King of Pahang was on his way with 100 sail to his assistance. This gave the Portuguese fresh hope, but the enemy continued their attack with such fury that they doubted being able to hold out until the expected succour should arrive. On the 4th December, however, the enemy sent in the Portuguese Ambassador, Abreu, with proposals that they should be allowed to take three of their galleys only, out of their entire fleet, to carry off the 4,000 men that were then left of the army of 20,000 that had commenced the siege.

Botello replied that Laçamane must at once surrender upon the promise of life only; but since he hesitated as to accepting these terms, Botello made a general assault upon his works, killing many and scattering the rest of his army who fled precipitately in different directions. The victory of the Portuguese was now complete; the entire Achinese army were either killed or taken prisoners; the whole fleet was captured, together with an enormous amount of booty, which, being divided amongst his army, enriched every man of it. The cannon taken was distributed amongst the forts in India, and the prisoners captured were sent as slaves to the various religious orders.

Botello then entered the city in triumph, and great demonstrations of joy were indulged in by the entire population, the women throwing from the house windows scented waters over the victors, whilst others strewed flowers in their path.

Shortly afterwards, an embassy arrived from the King of Pera, who had up till then been tributary to the King of Achin, offering to pay his tribute henceforth to the Crown of Portugal, and also to deliver up to the Portuguese a considerable amount of wealth that had been left in his custody by the King of Achin and by General Laçamane.

Botello sent Dom Hierome de Silveyra with eleven ships to receive this treasure and to establish a peace with the King of Pera. On his return with the promised riches they were employed in the payment of the men and in refitting the fleet.

The King of Pahang now came to congratulate Botello on his victory, and was received with great pleasure and hospitality. On parting, Botello suggested that he should endeavour to capture Laçamane, who had fled to the woods; and he not only succeeded in capturing this Achinese general, but also two other officers of high rank, one of whom was the premier Lord of Achin. These he sent to Botello, who shortly afterwards dispatched Antonio de Sousa Coutinho in the Achinese galley "The Terror of the World," with Laçamane on board as a prisoner, with a view to his being sent to Spain. The galley was intended as a present to the city of Goa. Laçamane died before his arrival in Portugal.

Botello sailed from Malacca with twenty-seven ships towards the Straits of Singapore, and put in at Jambi, hoping to find some ships there lading pepper belonging either to the Dutch or English. He met with two which, after some resistance, he captured, and sent one of them, with the prisoners taken, to Malacca. Sailing up the river he found, and attacked, another large ship, which, on account of its size and beauty, he was very anxious to take, but during the fight a bullet fell into her magazine and she was blown up.

Further up the river he heard that there were two Dutch ships, which he desired to capture, and for this purpose he manned fourteen light vessels to go and inspect the locality. These were met by twenty-six sail of the natives and Dutch, which were attacked and speedily forced to retire. It not being deemed practicable to capture the two Dutch ships on account of their being anchored under shelter of a fort, Botello sailed down the river again, destroying every place he passed with fire and sword.

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Botello then sailed for Jacatra, and by the way met a Dutch ship of twenty-four guns, laden with powder for the forts in that neighbourhood. She was attacked and boarded, but having taken fire, Botello ordered all his ships to stand away lest she should be blown up and they might be involved in the destruction. Seeing that Dom Antonio Mascarenhas did not cast loose, Botello went up to him with his galliot to bring him off, but as he passed the poop of the Dutch vessel she blew up and sank his galliot at the same time. All the rest of the fleet hastened to render such assistance as might be possible, but they found nothing above water except the almost lifeless body of Botello. He died soon after being taken on board, and his body being embalmed, was taken to Malacca and buried in the church of the Jesuits.

The news of the exploits and death of Nuno Alvarez Botello being sent to King Philip IV., he was greatly concerned, and in a letter, written by himself, he thus bore testimony to the respect he felt for that valiant officer:—

"Considering that the two pinks fitted out for India may have departed without an account of my concern for the death of Nuno Alvarez Botello, an express shall immediately be sent by land with advice that if I were not now in mourning for my Aunt, the Queen of Poland, I would wear it for him. I create his son an Earl, and allow his wife the honours of a Countess, and the profits of the fort of Mozambique to pay her debts, and whatever she has belonging to the Crown for ever. The revenues of the Military Orders she is possessed of for four lives after her, with 1,500 ducats pension from others, and 1,000 more during her life. And if the Kingdom were in a more prosperous condition I would bestow a great estate upon her."

It will be remembered that when the Conde de Vidigueira was recalled he was instructed to hand over the Government of India to Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, who had, however, then left for Spain. As soon as the

news of his appointment reached him he set out, in 1628, with three ships, only one of which, however, reached India, but the other two, one of which had the new Viceroy on board, were forced to return to Lisbon. On his return he was sworn a Member of the Council of the State of Portugal, and therefore did not take up the appointment of Viceroy. It is interesting to note that in some special instructions given to Dom Francisco before his departure for India, he was, amongst other things, to enquire into the bishoprics and to reduce their number, and also to give special attention to the claims and aspirations of the Jesuits, as well as to enquire into the expenditure of his predecessors. He was also enjoined to effect what reductions could be made in the establishments of Justice and Finance.

In the place of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, Dom Michael de Noronha, Conde de Linhares was nominated to the Government of India, and he left Lisbon in the following year, 1629, with three ships and six galleons. One of these ships was wrecked near the Cape of Good Hope, and the entire crew of 400 men was lost.

Soon after the arrival of the Conde de Linhares at Goa, news reached there of the victory gained by Nuno Alvarez Botello at Malacca, and he at once sent presents to the King of Pahang in acknowledgment of the assistance he had rendered in the siege of that place.

Dom Constantine de Sa e Noronha, thinking himself invincible after his destruction of Kandy, and being moreover taunted by the Viceroy with inactivity and indifference to the interests of Portugal, was induced by delusive representations of certain chiefs of the high country to concentrate all his forces for an expedition against Uva, where he had been falsely led to believe the population were prepared to join his standard against their native dynasty. Accordingly, in August, 1630, he advanced with 1,500 Europeans, about the same number of half-castes, and eight or ten thousand low country

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Cingalese, leaving Colombo with hardly any garrison. He was allowed to enter by the mountain passes without resistance, and penetrated to the city of Badulla, which he plundered and burnt. But on his return his Cingalese troops, at a point previously arranged with the Kandyans, deserted in a body to the enemy and fell upon the Portuguese, who were mercilessly slaughtered. Constantine de Sa was himself amongst the slain, and his head was carried on a drum and presented to Raja Singha, the son of the Emperor.

The King of Kandy, having been informed of the weakness of the garrison of Colombo, now thought to capture that place, and he at once proceeded thither with a large force and a number of elephants and invested the town, believing that the natives had, as was arranged, murdered the few Portuguese who had been left there. Constantine de Sa being dead, the command now devolved upon Lancelot de Seixas, who took immediate steps for the defence of the place. He had with him but 400 men, inclusive of members of the religious orders, and these he stationed at all the more important positions. The city contained a large number of women and children, and the garrison were soon reduced to great extremities for want of food, so that it is said they ate the dead, and mothers fed upon their own children. A pink laden with provisions was sent from Cochin, which afforded the besieged some relief, and shortly afterwards five vessels arrived from Goa to take in ladings of cinnamon for Portugal, and the enemy thinking that these brought reinforcements to the place, hastily raised the siege and retired.

Owing to the competition of the English and Dutch, the Portuguese trade with India had now become greatly diminished, and the King of Spain thereupon resolved to imitate the manner in which these conducted their traffic by means of a Company. Accordingly, by Royal Decree of the 15th March, 1630, a Company of Commerce was

established, towards which the King himself subscribed 1,500,000 cruzados, at the same time expressing a hope that the public would contribute an equal sum. Circular letters on the subject were sent to the several Camaras throughout Spain and Portugal, and the King addressed a dispatch to the Viceroy, desiring that encouragement should be given towards the subscription of capital in India, on the ground that the establishment of the proposed Company would tend to weaken the power of their European enemies in the East. Notwithstanding this high patronage, the Company did not receive support from a single private person, and only a few municipal bodies subscribed towards the undertaking. Consequently, after a brief and unimportant existence, it completely failed in its object, and was abolished by Royal Decree of the 12th April, 1633, when the State took over its assets and liabilities.

Although a treaty of peace had been concluded between the Crowns of England and Spain on the 15th November, 1630, the President of Surat objected to putting it in force. It was argued on the Spanish side that by Article 9 of the Treaty of 1604,* the English were not allowed to

* Article 9 of the Treaty of 1604 is as follows:—

"IX. It was, and is, agreed and settled, that there be, and ought to be, a free commerce between the said Most Serene King of Spain, and the said Most Serene King of England, and between all their vassals, inhabitants, and subjects whatsoever, as well by land as by sea and fresh water, in all and singular the kingdoms, dominions, and islands, and other lands, cities, towns, villages, ports, and districts of the said kingdoms, and dominions, in which commerce was held before the breaking out of the war, and according to the usage and observance of ancient covenants and treaties before the war; so that the subjects and vassals of either King may, without any passport, general or special license, come and enter into the said kingdoms and dominions, either by sea, land, or fresh water, and into the cities, towns, villages, ports, shores, creeks, and districts thereof, and enter into any ports in which commerce was carried on before the war, and according and agreeably to the usage and observance of ancient covenants and treaties before the war, with waggons, horses, burdens, and ships or boats as well laded as to be laded; and may import, buy, and sell merchandise in the said places, and purchase provisions and all other things necessary for their journey or voyage at a

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pass to India, nor carry on commerce in any part of it; and this, it was claimed, was confirmed by Articles 3 to 8 of the Treaty of 1630.*

just price, and endeavour to restore their own boats and carriages, or those they have hired or borrowed, and depart from thence with the same liberty, with all their merchandises, goods, and things whatsoever, only paying the present duties and customs according to the statutes of the place, and go to their own and foreign countries in what manner they please, and without any let or impediment."—*Foreign Office Library*, 4*to*, *No*. 3639.

* Paragraphs 3 to 8 of the Treaty of the 15th November, 1630, are as follows:—

"III. Nor shall any of the aforesaid Most Serene Kings, their heirs and successors whatsoever, do, act, or attempt anything either by themselves or others against the other his kingdoms, countries, or dominions whatsoever, in any place, whether by sea, land, fresh water, or in ports, upon any account or for any cause whatsoever, nor consent or join with anyone in war, counsel, attempt, or treaty that may be to the prejudice of the other.

"IV That neither of the parties shall give, nor consent, that his vassals, subjects, or inhabitants give assistance, favour, or counsel directly or indirectly, by sea, land, or fresh water; nor afford, or consent that his said vassals, subjects, or inhabitants afford men, provisions, money, warlike instruments, or any other assistance to foment war, to the enemies and rebels of the other party, of whatsoever kind they be, whether they invade the kingdoms, countries, and dominions of the other, or withdraw themselves from his dominion and obedience.

"V. They shall moreover renounce, even as by the tenor of these presents the said Kings shall and do renounce, each of them any league, confederacy, stipulation, or intelligence howsoever made in prejudice of the one or the other, that is or may be repugnant to the present peace and agreement, and all and singular the contents thereof; and they shall annul and make void for the foresaid effect, all and every one of these, and declare them to be of no effect or moment.

"VI. It is covenanted and agreed, that the said Most Serene Kings shall order their subjects to abstain from all manner of force and injury; and shall revoke all manner of commissions and letters of reprisal and mark; and all such as contain a power of plundering, of whatsoever kind or condition they be, that are given and granted to their subjects, inhabitants, or foreigners, in prejudice of either of the Kings or of their subjects; and shall declare them null and void, even as they are by this Treaty of Peace declared null and void. And whosoever contravene it shall be punished, and besides criminal punishment inflicted, shall be compelled to make full damages to the aggrieved subjects.

"VII. It was, and is, agreed and settled, that there be, and ought to be a free commerce between the Most Serene King of Spain and the Most Serene King of Great Britain, and all their vassals, inhabitants, and subjects, as well by land as by sea and fresh water, in all and singular the kingdoms, dominions, and islands, lands, cities, towns, villages, ports, and districts of the said kingdoms and dominions, where

In the course of the negotiations for the Treaty of 1604, the Spanish Commissioners pressed hard for an acknowledgment of the illegality of the English trade with the Indies, but without success. The English negotiators proposed that a proclamation should be issued forbidding English subjects from trading with places actually in the occupation of the Spanish Government, on condition that Spain would withdraw all pretensions to exclude them from trading with the independent natives. They refused, however, to bind themselves to obtain a written promise

commerce and trade was carried on between the said kingdoms before the war between Philip II. King of Spain, and Elizabeth Queen of England, as it was settled in the Treaty of Peace in the year 1604, Article IX., according and agreeably to the use and observance of ancient covenants and treaties preceding the said time; so that without any passport, general or special license, either by land, sea, or fresh water, and subjects and vassals of both Kings may go, enter and sail to all the aforesaid places, and all their cities, towns, and ports, shores, coasts, and districts, and enter into any ports in which there was a mutual commerce before the said time; and according and agreeably to the ancient custom and usage of ancient covenants, and of the said treaties, may import merchandizes upon waggons and horses, in carriages and boats loaded or to be loaded; buy and sell in the said places as much provision as will be necessary for their sustenance, journey, or voyage, and purchase them at a reasonable rate; and take care to return their own hired or borrowed ships or waggons; and with the same liberty depart from thence with all their merchandizes, goods, and things whatsoever, paying only the present toll and duty according to the statutes of the places, and from thence go to their own foreign countries, as they please, without any impediment or hindrance.

"VIII. It was, and is, likewise agreed and settled, that it shall be lawful to go to the ports of the said Kings, there remain, and depart from thence with the same liberty, not only with merchant ships, but also with all manner of ships of war, prepared to repulse the attacks of the enemy, whither they shall be driven by the violence of storm, or to mend their ships, or to buy provisions; provided that if they come in freely and of their own accord, they do not exceed the number of six or eight ships, and do not remain longer in the ports or about the ports, than shall be necessary for refitting or purchasing necessaries lest they should be a hindrance to the free commerce of other friendly nations. But if there shall be a greater number of ships of war, then they shall not come in without first consulting the King, and provided they commit no hostility in the said ports in prejudice of the said Kings, but live and be at rest like friends and confederates."
—*Foreign Office Library, 4to, No.* 3693, *p.* 281.

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from the King that he would prohibit his subjects from engaging in the contraband trade, and the proposition was rejected. They contented themselves with ignoring the whole subject in the treaty, though they expressed their opinion strongly enough in the conference.

Because the English did not trade with India when other treaties were in existence, the King of Spain called on the King of England to withdraw all his vessels from India, and not to allow any more to go there. This was, of course, an inadmissible proposition, but a little later on (20th January, 1635) an agreement was entered into at Goa, between the Conde de Linhares and William Methwold, President of the English East India Company in India, wherein it was stipulated that there should be a cessation of arms between the two nations in India, and a union of them against the common enemies, "by which the subjects of both shall not only increase in their States, but also both Kings in their renown. His Excellency having seen and considered of this just proposition, and oftentimes communicated the same to his council, resolved to condescend to that proposition, so and in such manner as it was capitulated between the Kings of England and Spain in Madrid the 15th November, anno 1630, without addition or diminution, or giving any other sense to any other thing that is not conformable to that peace, notwithstanding it shall be understood that there shall be a truce and cessation of arms until such time as the most illustrious Kings of England and Spain shall declare reciprocally themselves, each to other, that they are not pleased therewith, and it shall so continue six months after such notice shall be given unto the said Viceroy of India and the President for the English nation then being in India, that so the merchants may have time to withdraw and retire their merchandizes, &c."

After the conclusion of this armistice the Portuguese and English resided in Surat on the best of terms, and an arrangement was entered into between them that the

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latter were to be allowed to ship pepper free from opposition by the former, from whom, however, they were to purchase it instead of from the natives.

As another consequence of the treaty between the English and Portuguese, when Captain Weddel and Nathaniel Mounteney, of "Courten's* Association," arrived at Goa about this time, taking with them a necklace and a medallion as a present to the Viceroy, the latter, not knowing that they had nothing to do with the English who were in Surat, gave them permission to hire a house at Goa, and to establish trade there on the payment of the customary duties. Accordingly, five vessels arrived there in October, 1636, and remained until the 8th of February following. From Goa these vessels went to Surat, and afterwards to Kanara, where they offered to purchase pepper at a higher price than the Portuguese were in the habit of paying. On this becoming known the latter were very indignant. Captain Weddel also sent some ships to Bhatkal, whence an ambassador was sent to Venkatappa Naik, a chieftain of Bednur and ruler of Honavar, with offers to purchase pepper, after which the Portuguese noticed a coolness on the part of Venkatappa Naik towards them, which they not unnaturally attributed to the actions of the English.

Shortly after this, the Viceroy addressed a letter to the King on the subject, dated 5th October, 1637, wherein he remarked that the bad return made by the English for the friendship of the Portuguese was increasing. Not only, he said, did they take pepper from the lands of Kanara, which was claimed as Portuguese territory, but they had endeavoured to turn Venkatappa Naik and other Kings against them. The English,† he said, had associated themselves with a pirate named Babia, and they had established a factory at Baticala (Bhatkal) within the jurisdiction of Venkatappa Naik, for the purpose of collecting

* Courten's Association of the Assada (Madagascar) Merchants was established 1635, and united with the "London East India Company" in 1650.

† This referred to Captain Weddel and Courten's Association.

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pepper, for which they exchanged copper and lead, giving higher prices than the Portuguese, and they had also made him presents, including a piece of artillery.

All this went to prove, in the opinion of the Viceroy, that the English were not a people with whom the Portuguese could have any commercial transactions, but he expressed an opinion that it would hardly be to their interests to terminate the armistice in consequence.

Orders were, however, given to all the Portuguese factories that, whilst they were to decline to have any trade with the English, they were to manage this in such a manner as to avoid any rupture with them. In the event of their ships being driven by stress of weather or otherwise into a Portuguese port, the commandant was instructed to help them in every possible way, but not to allow them to carry on commerce there, or to remain on shore any length of time.

Special orders were given to the effect that on no account were any vessels, either large or small, to be sold to the English, notwithstanding that, in former years, permission had been accorded them to purchase ships of the Portuguese. In order, therefore, to prevent them from taking this in bad part, the excuse was to be made that in future vessels were only to be sold to Portuguese purchasers.

News was about this time received at Goa that the English were endeavouring to establish a factory at the port of Covelong, two leagues to the south of the city of S. Thomé, for which purpose they had obtained permission from the lord of the land; orders were accordingly issued to the Captain-General of Meliapore that he was to use every possible means to prevent this, and the Viceroy also dispatched an ambassador to Venkatappa Naik on the subject.

In consequence of the complaints made to English at Surat of the proceedings above referred to, Mr. Methwold, the president, writing to the Viceroy on the 25th

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July, 1637, entirely repudiated the actions of Captain Weddel, which, he remarked, had brought great disgrace on the English name, and loss and discredit to the English East India Company. Mr. Methwold bore willing testimony to the fact, that when the English vessels put into Portuguese ports they were always well received, and stated that he invariably endeavoured to reciprocate that treatment. He also informed the Viceroy that he had declined offers of pepper at Cannanore in order to avoid giving offence to the Portuguese; and he added that he had always kept one eye on the desire of being friendly towards the Portuguese, and the other to serve the interests of his employers.

At the same time that friendly feelings existed between the Portuguese and the English, it was not so between them and the Dutch, towards whom the same deadly animosity existed as at the time when they first appeared in the Indian seas. The political positions of these two nations towards each other in Europe absolutely precluded, at this time, the establishment of any mutual understanding between them regarding trade in India, and force was the only power that could be appealed to in this matter. Consequently, we find that in 1635 the Viceroy strongly impressed upon the King of Spain the importance of providing him with a sufficient force to defeat the Dutch, in which event, he said, they would be discredited and refused trade in those parts, " since they were everywhere cordially hated, and only succeeded in carrying on trade by means of the forces at their disposal."

In 1631 the King of Spain sent instructions to the Conde de Linhares that he should endeavour to come to terms with the Governor of Ormuz, with a view to recovering the possession of that place for the Crown of Portugal. Everything was to be held of secondary importance to this one object, and, if necessary, he was to obtain it by bribery. In accordance with these instructions, the Viceroy sent one Dominic de Torale Valdez, a

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1631-32.

Spaniard, to see what steps could be taken to this end, and to confer with Ruy Freire, who was then at Muscat, on the subject. His mission failed in its object, but instead a fort was established at Julfar, in the neighbourhood of a celebrated pearl-fishery about fifty leagues from Muscat.

During the recent troubles in Ceylon, the Viceroy dispatched Dom Jorge de Almeida with some relief to Colombo. On his way thither, his vessel was so damaged during a storm that he was obliged to take to his boats, and abandon her. He first made for the Maldive Islands, where he remained for thirty days, and then obtained a vessel to carry him and his crew to Cochin. Here he was detained for some time by sickness, but shortly afterwards there arrived at that port two pinks, sent by the Viceroy to the relief of Ceylon, having on board 500 Caffres, 800 Canarese, a few Portuguese, and 40,000 xerafins, together with supplies of provisions and ammunition. Dom Jorge embarked on board this vessel, together with some other forces he had raised, and arrived with them at Colombo on the 21st October, 1631. Here he remained until the end of the rainy season, and on the 5th January, 1632, he marched out with his army in search of the enemy.

The state of the country was still very unfavourable to the movement of an army. The first day they marched only one league to Calane. The next, their progress was much hindered by the swampy nature of the ground, and an advance force from the enemy's army, who endeavoured to check the progress of the Portuguese at a pass near a fort called Tanqueira Grande. At the next pass the enemy had erected an entrenchment which was manned by some 6,000 men. This pass was, however, also forced, and the enemy driven from their fortification. Dom Jorge then marched to Malvana, which place he found totally abandoned, with the exception of three old men. Having burnt this town he proceeded to Cordevola,

where there were two forts fully manned. Without any delay these were stormed and carried with the loss to the Portuguese of only two officers and four soldiers, and the enemy put to flight, pursued by the Portuguese. They made a stand at the foot of the mountains leading to the high lands of Kandy, but were again defeated.

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1632-33.

News reached Dom Jorge that Tanqueira Grande had been abandoned by the enemy, whereupon he sent back a body of men, who ascertained that the report was true and that the enemy had left in that port a number of brass and iron cannon, besides many muskets and a large quantity of ammunition. At Cordevola also a number of cannon were taken, one of which was found to have on it the Royal Arms of Portugal.

Dom Jorge next assaulted Chilao by sea and land, which place he also captured and took a large quantity of booty, including 130 vessels.

By these victories the Portuguese had become masters of the forts of Manieravare, Sofragan, Malvana, Caliture, and Maturé. The King of Kandy then sent ambassadors to sue for peace; but this Dom Jorge refused to accede to on his own responsibility, but forwarded them on to the Viceroy at Goa. A treaty was accordingly concluded with the King on the 15th April, 1633, wherein it was agreed that the dominions of Kandy should be divided amongst three Kings, sons of Queen Dom Catharina, the lawful heiress of those territories, of whom the present King of Kandy, Maastana, should be the chief amongst them; that all thieves were to be handed over, on either side, together with their plunder; that neither side should break the peace and declare war without giving notice, and the reasons for so doing; that the fortress of Batticaloa should be the property of the King of Portugal, but the land about it the property of the King of Kandy, who was, however, by this treaty, not to approach within 2,000 paces of the fort; that the King of Kandy's tribute of two elephants should be reduced to

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1633. one elephant per annum for six years; that a prelate of the Order of S. Francisco should be allowed to reside in Kandy to minister to the religious wants of any Christians who might be there; and that on peace being signed the King of Kandy should give up all the Portuguese prisoners he might have.

By the year 1633 the Portuguese were in a worse plight than ever in the East. In Ceylon they had, it is true, apparently re-established their power; but, as will be seen, they held their possessions on a very insecure tenure. Here, as elsewhere, they had thoroughly alienated the native populations, as much by the barbarities perpetrated, not only on their defeated enemies, but on harmless and defenceless women and children, as by the persistency with which they endeavoured to force the Catholic religion upon all who became subject to their rule. At the same time, owing to their defective management of commercial affairs in the interests of the State, the revenues at the different ports had dwindled down to practically nothing.

So early as in 1629, the Archbishop of Goa had written to the King informing His Majesty that, notwithstanding the many enemies the Portuguese had on the Indian seas, the greatest enemies to the State in India were her own people. In the following year, owing to the difficulties experienced in obtaining a sufficient number of Portuguese for the army in India, the King decreed that any foreigners willing to enter the Royal Service in that country were to be permitted to do so, and to receive the same pay and treatment as Portuguese while so employed.

Amongst all the enemies of Portugal from within, none probably did greater harm to the State in India than the Jesuits and other ecclesiastics, and to such a pitch had their arrogance risen, that in 1631 the Viceroy, in writing to the King, not only observed that the priests and monks paid no attention to his orders, but he informed His Majesty

that the Jesuits had made themselves masters of Tuticorin, and retained bands of armed men at their own expense, in total defiance of the Government; they had made themselves absolute masters of Travancore and of the pearl-fisheries off that coast, and actually waged war on the seas against His Majesty's captains. The Viceroy further declared that the State derived more harm from the Jesuits than from other enemies, in consequence of the communications they held with the Dutch and with the Moors, besides usurping, as they did, the Royal jurisdiction and State revenues. They had also proceeded so far as to deny that the King of Portugal was lord of India, and generally throughout the East they intrigued against the Government, and set the orders of the King at open defiance.

In the year 1633, the Viceroy also had to report to the King the arrival of French vessels in the Indian seas, thus bringing other competitors into the field for a share in the Eastern trade. Further troubles again arose from the fact that, of the men sent out from Portugal to assist in the defence of their possessions, a large number became monks on their arrival in India, and so escaped the dangers attending the support of a moribund cause.

The final blow to the Portuguese prestige in India also took place in the last-mentioned year. It would appear that the Mughal Shah Jehan, having met with reverses in several engagements recently with the troops of the Adil Khan, attributed these results to the assistance his enemies had received from the Portuguese, and in revenge for this, he resolved to turn them out of Bengal, where they had a settlement in the town of Golin. This place had then in it only 200 Portuguese and 600 slaves, against whom the Mughal sent an overwhelming force both by land and by the River Ganges. The small garrison valiantly defended themselves from the 21st June until the 29th September, when they were at last obliged

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to yield; the majority of those who remained alive were taken prisoners and carried to Agra, but a few managed to escape, and fortified themselves on an island in front of where their former fortress had been. Here they remained until the year 1643, when they were removed to Goa by an expedition sent by the Viceroy for that purpose.

Owing to the want of ships in Goa for the service of the state, the Viceroy was, in 1635, obliged to charter an English ship from the president at Surat for a voyage to China. That vessel was the "London," and the special object of the expedition was to fetch to Goa 4,000 quintals of copper and some 100 pieces of iron artillery. The "London" first went to Goa, where it took in a large cargo, towards which the people of that city eagerly contributed, selling even their wives' jewels to provide freight, in consequence of the greater security it would enjoy than if in a Portuguese ship. The Viceroy observed, in a letter to the King on the subject, that this species of commerce was so nearly extinct that the people appreciated the opportunity to renew it "as if it were a general pardon."

Two Portuguese factors were put on board the "London," with orders not to allow any of the English to go ashore at the ports they visited, especially in China. Under a pass from the Viceroy this vessel visited Malacca and Macao. On arrival at their destination, the English desired to themselves petition the mandarins to measure their ship, but this was frustrated by the Portuguese factors on board. The English did some trade in China on their own account, and asked to be allowed to put up two thatched cottages for this purpose; they also desired permission to return to China the following year, and as an inducement for complying with this request they promised to supply drugs to the Chinese at fifty per cent. less than was charged by the Portuguese. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, Senhor Pero da Silva, who

succeeded the Conde de Linhares as Viceroy, expressed an opinion that to have sent this vessel to China was the worst thing in the interests of Portuguese trade that could have been done. CHAP. IX. A.D. 1635.

In this same year, proposals were made for the establishment of a Company to trade with China, and to this end encouragement was to be given to the inhabitants of India to start private merchant vessels, so as to avoid capture by European enemies. This, however, does not appear to have commended itself to the people of India, and nothing was therefore effected towards the object in view. Formerly, the native traders had been asked by the Company of Commerce to send merchandise to Europe in their vessels, but they had declined on the ground that, owing to the manner in which the Company's ships were fitted out, the danger of their being lost was almost certain. As the Company had now ceased to exist, the King expressed a desire to the Viceroy that an attempt should be made to induce them to ship merchandise in the Royal fleets.

On the 12th March, 1635, the King of Asarceta concluded a treaty of peace with the Captain of Daman, by which he agreed that neither he nor his captains should ever assist any enemy of the Portuguese; that he would send assistance to the Captains and Governors of Daman in time of war, when called upon to do so; and that, in the event of his wishing to declare war against an enemy, he would first give notice to the captain, in order that he might investigate the justice of the case and make preparations to assist the King.

About the same time an arrangement was entered into between the Viceroy and the Raja of Bisnaga, by which the latter was to assist in turning the Dutch out of Paliacate. The Raja's forces were to attack the place by land and the Portuguese by sea. When it was taken, the Raja was to receive 30,000 xerafins, twelve horses, and six elephants, as his share of the spoil. On the good

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success of this undertaking, the King of Portugal remarked, depended the depriving the Dutch of the trade in cloths on the coast of Coromandel, and of the commerce of the south.

A fleet of twelve vessels was accordingly sent by the Portuguese, but the King of Bisnaga failed to carry out his engagement; this, he afterwards explained, was due to a disturbance in his own dominions, but that having put this down, he was prepared to fulfil his obligations. The Portuguese fleet had, however, now left Paliacate, whence it proceeded to Tuticorin to punish the Naik of Madura, and to overawe the Jesuits there; the former having seized, at the instance of the latter, a Portuguese agent who had been sent to purchase saltpetre in exchange for elephants.

A second expedition was subsequently sent by the Portuguese against Paliacate, but again the King of Bisnaga failed to co-operate with it, and the Viceroy accordingly expressed an opinion that he was not to be relied on. Subsequently, however, the King did attack the place, but coming to terms with the enemy, he raised the siege, leaving the Dutch in uninterrupted possession, in consideration of which it was reported he received from them 20,000 pardaos.

When Shah Jehan invaded the Deccam in 1635, the King of Spain sent orders that the Adil Shah and the Melique were to be assisted against him, in order, if possible, to check the Mughal's growing power. It was reported that he had left Agra with 60,000 horsemen to make war upon the Adil Shah, and he sent an ambassador in advance demanding the surrender of the whole of the Melique's kingdom, and the payment of thirty million pagodas of tribute then in arrear. The Melique is said to have been surrounded by Councillors who were in the interest of the Mughal, and it was feared by the Portuguese that, if the latter succeeded in getting possession of Melique and Kanara, he would next descend upon their territory.

One of the last letters from the Conde de Linhares as Viceroy of India, was addressed to the King and dated the 30th November, 1635, in which he gave an account of the condition of India at the close of his administration, which was to the following effect. The King of Japan had commenced to persecute the Christians, which greatly interfered with the trade of the Portuguese with that country, which was further hampered by the fact that many private individuals had incurred debts to Japanese to the extent of over 200,000 xerafins. This latter difficulty was, however, overcome by the Camara of Macao guaranteeing the payment of those debts. The inhabitants of Chincheo (Cochin-China) had, the Conde de Linhares reported, risen up against the Dutch and defeated them, having taken several of their vessels by surprise; and he expressed a hope that this might put a stop to Dutch commerce with that country. The King of Maccassar was at this time friendly towards the Portuguese, but hostile to the Dutch; he had taken the islands of Maluco and Amboina, whose natives had defeated the Dutch, leaving them only their fortress on the latter island. The King of Maccassar had sent at embassy to Goa, requesting the Portuguese to assist him in completely expelling the Dutch, promising them in return a monopoly of trade with his dominions; the Viceroy was, however, unable to avail himself of this offer, owing to want of a sufficient force in the Straits of Singapore to oppose the Dutch in those parts, where they were in great force. The ambassador from Maccassar stated that his King had provided a force to proceed to Banda to cut down the nutmeg-trees on that island, which, it was thought, would prove a fatal blow to the prosperity of the Dutch, who relied on them as a source of revenue to enable them to carry on their trade in India.

The Viceroy impressed upon the King of Portugal the importance of providing him with a sufficient force to defeat the Dutch, in which event, he said, they would be

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1635. discredited and refused trade in those parts, since they were everywhere cordially hated, and only succeeded in carrying on trade at all by means of the forces at their command. The Viceroy also desired to overawe the Dutch at Mataran, and to prevent them from coming to terms with the King of that place. The King of Bantam had declared war against the Dutch, and had sent an ambassador to the Portuguese offering to enter into a commercial alliance with them. On the other hand, the King of Achin favoured the Dutch rather than the Portuguese.

Communications with the King of Pegu had resulted in his opening that port to the Portuguese. The Naiks of Guiga and Tanjore were on friendly terms; the ports of Bengal were also open to their trade, with which commerce was carried on from the port of Cochin.

The Portuguese were, however, not on friendly terms with the Naik of Madura, on account of the punitive expedition which had recently been sent to Tuticorin against him. In Ceylon and on the coast of Travancore affairs were conducted in peace and quiet; the King of Cochin and the Zamorin were now on friendly terms with one another and with Viravada Naik, the King of Cannanore. The only pressing anxiety expressed in this report was lest the Adil Khan should lose his kingdom to the Mughal, in which case the Viceroy feared that the Portuguese territories would be placed in a position of great danger.

The relations of the Portuguese with the English in the East formed a great contrast to those with the Dutch. The Viceroy, shortly before his departure, reported that they were getting on very well with the English, who were "on as good terms with the state as we could desire, selling us copper at lower prices than we can obtain it elsewhere." The Conde de Linhares remarked that there was no fear of the fidelity of the English in respect to the chartered vessel (see p. 248), nor that the Dutch would break with the English by capturing it.

He, however, expressed an opinion that it would not be advisable to extend the practice of freighting foreign vessels.

About this time, the Jesuits and other religious orders had obtained very considerable ascendency in India, and exercised their powers in a way to cause the greatest possible embarrassment to the government. The Jesuits had by some means obtained a general charge over the works at the several fortresses of the north, and they positively declined to render any account of the expenditure incurred upon them, so that it became necessary to constitute a special committee for the purpose, to whom was entrusted the charge of the money, and who were required to render regular accounts for the same. The influence of the Jesuits over the people generally appears also to have been very considerable, and that they exercised it very much to their own personal benefit, since, in 1635, it was found necessary to issue orders prohibiting them, or other religious orders, to receive legacies or to purchase land without permission, "because, when the religious orders are rich the vassals are poor." A stop was also attempted to be put to their interference with the pearl-fisheries off the coast, and orders were sent out from Portugal, at this time, that unless the Jesuits desisted from interfering with these fisheries, the care of the Christians in India would be handed over to some other religious bodies.

The monks had recently increased in numbers very considerably in India, a circumstance which was attributed to the large allowances they received from the state, added to which they had also accumulated considerable private possessions. These were flourishing in wealth, whilst the government were in absolute need of funds wherewith to pay their soldiers. To such a state of destitution was the army reduced by this cause that many of them went to the religious houses for food and became monks, whilst others were solicited by the monks to join them. This

CHAP. IX. A.D. 1635. solicitation appears not to have been confined to the soldiers already in India, but many were even engaged beforehand, not only to the monks but also to private individuals; and to such an extent did this practice prevail, that in 1632, out of 1,500 men who were sent to India, only 500 could be found, after arrival, for the service of the King. It is, therefore, no cause of surprise that we find the Conde de Linhares complaining to the King that, whereas there were plenty of ships and guns in India, these were comparatively useless for want of men.

Neither need it be wondered at, under the circumstances above related, to find numerous complaints that the Jesuits and other religious bodies were too numerous, and out of all proportion to the officials and other secular inhabitants. In Goa they were reported at this time (1635) to have been more in number than the soldiers and civil inhabitants put together, whilst in some places, having only about fifty inhabitants, there were four or five convents. The King of Portugal fully accepted these facts as sufficiently accounting for the scarcity of men for the fleets, and he, therefore, ordered a special junta to be formed for an enquiry into the subject.

One opinion offered at the time with regard to this subject, the adoption of which would probably have tended to mitigate the evil, was, that if the soldiers when on shore were provided with the means of subsistence they would not be so likely to enter the monasteries, but owing to their small allowances they often had to suffer hunger, and their only means of subsistence was to enter these houses.

The monks were not, however, the only people to blame in this matter, and they would probably not have been able to defraud the state to the extent they did in this respect but for the connivance of the captains of the Portuguese ships sailing from Lisbon, who found a means to enrich themselves in connection therewith also at the cost of the state. Vessels repeatedly arrived in

India filled with children of six and seven years of age, some of whom were to become monks and others to enter situations as pages. For these recruits money was given to the captains by their respective employers, and sometimes, it is stated, as many as a hundred of these children were on board each vessel of the fleet, for whom rations were drawn the same as for adults.

The want of money was as great an anxiety to the Viceroy as the want of men. On this point, however, the King of Spain impressed upon him the importance, under the circumstances, of getting the people of Goa to embark in trade on their own account, but the Conde de Linhares in reply pointed out to His Majesty that these, as a rule, had no capital wherewith to enter on commercial operations, but he expressed his willingness to do all he could towards the carrying out of His Majesty's wishes. This proposal was duly laid before the merchants of Goa, but they replied that the thing was now impossible, since the trade of the country had, by force of circumstances, to be carried on in vessels of war; and they added that it was by the ruin of the people that the enemies had become rich.

Thus the Conde de Linhares, at the conclusion of his term of government, left the Portuguese possessions in India in a state of general peace. This was, however, but the calm that preceded the storm, which a few short years afterwards swept from the Portuguese almost all their most valued possessions in the East. The government treasuries were empty; the trade of the Portuguese had already been almost entirely taken from them by their more enterprising European rivals; their army was undermanned and demoralised, their officials corrupt, and the resources of the state were undermined by the Jesuits and other religious bodies. This was the inheritance of Pedro da Silva, who succeeded the Conde de Linhares in the government of India.

CHAPTER X.

Arrival at Goa of Pedro da Silva as Viceroy—Engagements with Dutch Vessels—Critical condition of Malacca—Persecution of Christians in Japan—Voyage of Captain Weddel to China—Sale of Appointments in India—Serious Competition of the English in Trade—Preparations by the Dutch to Blockade Malacca, Ceylon, and Goa—Defeat of the Portuguese in Ceylon by Raja Singha—Capture of Batticaloa – Law against Youths under Thirteen Years of Age being Sent to India—Critical condition of the Portuguese in India owing to Want of Funds—Blockade of Goa by a Dutch Fleet—Death of Pedro da Silva—Assumption of the Government by the Archbishop of Goa—Attack on Malacca by Dutch and Achinese—Arrival of João da Silva Tello as Viceroy—The Portuguese Recover their Independence—Treaty between King Dom João IV. and the United Provinces—Continued Attacks by the Dutch on the Portuguese Possessions in India—Treaty of Peace and Commerce with King Charles I. of England—Alliance by the King of Kandy with the Dutch—Capture of Batticaloa and Trincomali—Capture of the Fort of Negumbo—Capture of Galle—Recovery of Negumbo—Capture of Malacca by the Dutch—Refusal by the Dutch Commissioner to Publish the Armistice in India—Defeat of the Dutch at Galle—Recapture of Negumbo by the Dutch—State of India.

CHAP. X. A.D. 1635.

In the spring of 1635 two vessels sailed from Lisbon carrying with them Pedro da Silva, who was to succeed the Conde de Linhares as Viceroy. He arrived at Goa towards the end of the year, whereupon the Conde de Linhares at once made over the government of India to him, and returned to Portugal by the same vessels that had taken out his successor. One of these ships was lost near Lisbon, but the one in which was the Conde de Linhares went to Malaga, where many of the crew died, much of the cargo was wasted, and the ship itself was broken up.

From Malaga the Conde proceeded to Madrid, and presented some rich presents to the King and Queen. He

was at first received with much honour, but, like some of his predecessors, afterwards became a victim to jealousy and intrigue, and, as a reward for his services in India, was committed to prison for certain alleged offences. CHAP. X. A.D. 1635-36.

Pedro da Silva appears to have been wanting in many of those qualities that were necessary in a Governor in India, being naturally of far too easy a disposition, in consequence of which he gained the soubriquet of "Mole," which in Portuguese means "Soft." He would seem to have been keenly aware of his unsuitableness for the position of Viceroy, since it is alleged that he was often heard to exclaim "God forgive those who named me for this employment, for I am not fit for it." His appointment was, therefore, an unfortunate one, especially considering the difficulties with which he was soon called upon to contend with.

The Dutch, who at first confined their trade to Java and the more eastern islands, were not long before they turned their attention to the Portuguese possessions in India. Their first point of attack was Meliapore, which place they blockaded, and took all the vessels going thence. This, once the wealthiest city in India, was now reduced both in population and commerce.

In 1635 two Dutch vessels met a Portuguese fleet in the north, when the latter got into disorder owing to the wind being in favour of the enemy, and two of their vessels were captured. In the following year the Viceroy, writing to Lisbon, lamented that trade had generally fallen into the hands of the Dutch; that whereas India might have been the richest jewel in the Portuguese crown, all her forts were in a state of decay.

About this time the King of Bisnaga offered to hand over to the Portuguese, or to pull down, the fortress of Trevanapatam, which had been built by the Malay King to give to the Dutch. On this, however, the King of Spain remarked that preference should above all other things be given to turning the Dutch out of the coast of Coromandel.

CHAP X. A.D. 1636-7.

In March, 1636, Antonio Telles set out with six galleons, expecting to meet thirteen Dutch vessels in the neighbourhood of Surat. A storm, however, drove his vessels to Bombay, and the enemy avoided an engagement at this time by running into Dabhol. From Bombay, Telles returned to Goa, and whilst at anchor in the roads off that port four Dutch ships hove in sight, and he went out to engage them. The fleets fought for two days, after which the Dutch vessels sailed away. Shortly afterwards a squadron of ten Dutch ships was seen making towards the Portuguese fleet, but as the odds appeared too great Telles declined an engagement, and ran into the port of Goa.

Antonio Telles appears to have remained inactive with his fleet at Goa for several months, as nothing further is related of his proceedings until the 21st. January, 1637, when, after being taunted by the Dutch with being a coward, and afraid to fight them, he at last went out and met them. After an engagement which lasted for eight hours, the Dutch vessels sailed away, having, it would appear, sustained some damage from the Portuguese guns. The two fleets met again about the middle of February, when another indecisive action took place, although the Portuguese vessels remained masters of the sea, the Dutch ships, as before, retiring from the fight.

At Malacca, the security of the Portuguese position was greatly endangered owing to quarrels between the Commander of the town and the Admiral of the fleet in those waters. The King of Achin, taking advantage of these dissensions, thought it a suitable opportunity to break off his amicable relations, and his first act of hostility was to imprison Francisco de Sousa e Castro, who resided at Achin as an ambassador, and to kill all the Portuguese about his court. Malacca was, however, not at this time in a position to resent this outrage, being in need of many necessaries, and even distressed for want of provisions. The situation there being made known to the Viceroy, he sent four galleons with the necessary relief.

CHAP. X. A.D. 1636

The Dutch fleet now occupied the Straits of Singapore in some force, which caused great difficulties to the trade between Malacca and Macao, since the alternative route, *viâ* the Straits of Sunda, was long, tedious, and dangerous. The trade between Macao and Japan was also greatly jeopardised by two causes—first, the King of Japan had turned* against the Christians and caused several of them to be burnt alive; threatening further that if priests continued to be sent there he would burn all the Portuguese ships that might arrive, together with all their cargoes. The second was that the Dutch, on the plea that they were not Christians like the Portuguese, offered that if the latter were turned out of Japan they, the Dutch, would undertake to deprive them of Macao; and they succeeded in obtaining a majority of votes of the Japanese Council in their favour.

In 1636 an English fleet, belonging to Courten's Association, visited India under the command of Captain Weddel, who took out a necklace and a medallion as a present to the Portuguese Viceroy. These vessels subsequently went to China, carrying with them a quantity of artillery, ammunition, and stores for the Portuguese at Macao. Captain Weddel had with him a letter from King Charles I. to the Governor-General of Macao, informing him that he was sending that officer and Nathaniel Mountiney with the ships "Dragon," "Sol," "Catherine Planter," and "Anna," with special orders with regard to trade in the countries under the Portuguese.

*The following order by the Emperor of Japan against the Portuguese was issued on the 4th August, 1639:—"It being well known that the King has rigorously prohibited the Christian religion in all Japan, in spite of this they have continued to secretly send the preachers of that religion into these kingdoms. The King will punish with death those Christians who, uniting among themselves, invent and conspire to do wicked and unreasonable things. They gave, and sent from their kingdoms, support to the priests and Christians who were secreted in Japan. Because the contents of the three articles above written are true, the King ordains that for the future this voyage and commerce shall not be repeated, and that if in spite of this order and prohibition they send to Japan, not only will the said vessels be destroyed, but all the persons who come in them will be punished with death. All the above is the express order and command of the King this day, the 4th August, 1639."

CHAP. X. A.D. 1636.

On arrival at Macao, the Captain-General sent to enquire their business, to which they replied by returning letters from their Commodore and one from the King of England. Strict orders were given that no natives should go near the ships, except those whom the Captain-General might send with provisions.

As the Captain-General could not prevent the Chinese from communicating with the ships, he sent to warn Captain Weddel to have nothing to do with them, as they were very treacherous. In spite, however, of all his efforts to prevent communication between the Chinese and English, the latter arranged with the natives to show them the port of Canton, and to supply them, for that purpose, with two pilots, with whom they went sounding all round the islands at the mouth of the Canton river. A small *patacho*, employed on the same work, got close up to Canton, and spent a month examining the coasts.

On the 4th August the English fleet sailed for Canton, where they landed factors, money, and goods. The vessels were drawn up as near to the shore as possible, when the Chinese sent down some fire-ships with the intent to destroy them ; in this, however, they were unsuccessful, and in retaliation Captain Weddel, as he returned, bombarded and destroyed a Chinese stronghold.

On the return of the fleet to Macao the Portuguese sent an ambassador to Canton, who succeeded in bringing away the English factors and goods. An attempt was made by the Portuguese and mandarins to make Captain Weddel give an undertaking not to return to China to trade; but on second thoughts they came to the conclusion that it might be desirable to allow the English a limited trade there, on condition of their carrying Portuguese artillery to Goa from Macao, where it was cast in some quantities, in order to protect it from capture by the Dutch.

While the English vessels were at Canton, a protest

was sent to Captain Weddel, by the authorities at Macao, against their having visited that island without any orders from the King of Spain or from the Viceroy. In this document considerable surprise was expressed that the English should have gone to Canton without authority, that being a place which the Portuguese themselves had never been able to reach in their own ships, and fear was expressed that the Chinese would, in consequence, retaliate upon the Portuguese. Captain Weddel treated this protest with scant courtesy. In a reply dated "From our vessels in the port of Canton," he expressed surprise at the protest having been made, and declared that in spite of it the English intended to continue their trade "with blood and sweat in a land which you confess is not yours, but belongs to the King of China. No time to write more as engaged on more important business." A considerable amount of correspondence on this subject passed between the authorities of Macao and Captain Weddel, and there exists a copy of a *chapa* from the Aitaun of Canton regarding "four vessels of barbarians, with red hair, from abroad, which having arrived here went into the mouth of the Tiger."

On returning from Macao with his four ships, Captain Weddel met a strong Dutch fleet in the Straits of Singapore, which demanded of him whether he had anything on board belonging to the Portuguese. Captain Weddel refused to give up anything, and sounded to quarters, whereupon the Dutch allowed him to pass free. He then went on to Malacca and Cochin, where he delivered up his cargo.

In January, 1637, a Dutch fleet of ten vessels appeared before the bar of Goa, with the intention of preventing the Portuguese vessels from going out on their homeward voyage. The Viceroy sent out a fleet, on the 21st January, to engage them, which is stated to have obtained a great victory over the enemy. A second equally successful engagement took place on the 11th February,

CHAP. X. A.D. 1637-38.

when twenty-four Portuguese vessels attacked the enemy. Notwithstanding these engagements, however, the ten Dutch ships remained off Goa, and blockaded that port till the end of April. During the three months they were there it is stated that they did not succeed in capturing a single Portuguese vessel, but only one belonging to a Moor of Portugal.

The Dutch now sent an ambassador to the Adil Khan to request his assistance in driving the Portuguese out of Goa, and at the same time to ask permission to establish a fortress at Vingorla. This latter request was conceded, and the Dutch left their men there to organise a factory. The permission to settle at Vingorla appears, however, to have been shortly afterwards withdrawn. The Dutch also sent another ambassador to the Mughal, making similar proposals to aid him against the Portuguese.

On the 26th of the following October (1637), sixteen Dutch vessels of various sizes, under the command of Captain Adam Westerwold, again appeared off the bar of Goa, and the Portuguese, thinking they intended to attack the place, made every preparation to receive them; but they left again on the 26th November, sailing northwards, and went to Bassein, where they endeavoured to move a vessel that was being built there. The Dutch returned again to Goa shortly afterwards, and on the 4th January, 1638, the Viceroy sent out a fleet to attack them off that port. The fight commenced at 8 a.m., and after a severe conflict the enemy were driven off with the loss of two of their vessels, whilst the Portuguese lost one of theirs.

An agreement was shortly afterwards (15th April) concluded by Admiral Westerwold with the Reverend Frey Fernando de Lahore, on behalf of the Portuguese, in which it was stipulated that in the event of generals being taken prisoners by either side they should be equally exchanged, viz., general for general, and, in the event of the numbers captured by the two sides not being equal,

the price of ransom should be 200 *patacas* for each general. Admirals taken prisoners were to be exchanged in like manner, with a ransom of 150 *patacas* for each admiral in excess. Captains were to be ransomed at 100 *patacas*. All women captured, whether Portuguese or Dutch, were to be given up respectively without the payment of any ransom. Members of a religious order, not being either bishop, archbishop, or patriarch, were to be ransomed at the rate of forty *patacas* each. All other prisoners, when practicable, were to be exchanged prisoner for prisoner, or ransomed at the rate of ten *patacas* each.

In this year also a Dutch fleet of seven vessels came upon a Portuguese fleet at anchor off Puludindin, which they attacked so vigorously that they destroyed them all, and only the crews of half of them saved their lives and escaped to land.

In view of these attempted combinations against the Portuguese in India, the Viceroy, realising the importance of making a vigorous attempt to drive the Dutch out of the country before they became too firmly established, was obliged to have resource to extraordinary measures in order to raise the necessary funds for that purpose. He therefore put up to sale all public appointments of any importance, and allotted them to the highest bidders. These included even the commands of fortresses, which under this system did, no doubt, often fall into the hands of utterly unworthy and incompetent persons. The profits of special voyages were also often sold, which must have resulted in the surrender, for the sake of ready money, of no inconsiderable portion of what would otherwise have been realised by the State from those voyages.

In consequence of robberies from three Portuguese vessels at Diu, said to have been perpetrated by an English pirate, the Viceroy sent out a vessel of war to capture him. As the President at Surat refused to afford any satisfaction for this affront, orders were given that the property of certain English who had been permitted to

CHAP. X. A.D. 1637-38.

settle in Goa should be seized, and the matter was handed over to the Tribunal of the Second Instance in that city.

It appears that a proposal was about this time made to the Viceroy by the English President that the Portuguese should for the future carry on their trade in English vessels, but His Excellency pointed out in a letter home that such a course as this would involve both a loss of reputation and a distinct disadvantage; besides, he remarked, it was evident the sole object of the English in making this proposal was that they might get the entire trade into their own hands.

The President of the Danish East India Company, who was on friendly terms with the Portuguese, informed the Viceroy that, from intelligence he had received, the Dutch were preparing forces to blockade Malacca, Ceylon, and Goa. This intelligence was accompanied by an offer to assist the Portuguese in the defence of Tranquebar and Negapatam, and by a request to be allowed to settle a factory in Ceylon. This request not being favourably entertained, the Danes offered to assist the Portuguese against the Dutch in Ceylon, provided they were permitted to purchase areca, elephants, and cinnamon there, but the Portuguese Council considered that this proposal could only be entertained after the conclusion of a treaty between their respective Kings.

It was not long before the Dutch prepared an expedition against Ceylon. On the 8th January, 1638, the Dutch Admiral before Goa received a letter from Raja Singha promising to confer upon him the half of Baticaloa, upon condition of assisting in the capture of that town from the Portuguese. Admiral Adam Westerwold at once sent Willem Jacobszoon Koster with three ships and 180 men to Ceylon, and he followed with more vessels shortly afterwards.

Whilst these fleets were on their way from Goa, the Portuguese, having been informed that Raja Singha had left his capital for the south, sent an expedition against

Kandy. The Raja had, however, not proceeded far, and was in the neighbourhood when the Portuguese forces arrived; he fell upon them unexpectedly, and a battle took place on the mountain of Ganneroe, in which the Portuguese were entirely defeated and their whole force were slain, with the exception of seventy, who were made prisoners. Raja Singha sent the sword of the Portuguese commander, Dom Diogo de Mello, to Admiral Westerwold, as a proof of his victory. CHAP. X. A.D. 1638.

Willem Koster arrived off Trincomali on the 2nd April, when he had an interview with Raja Singha, and arranged with him for a joint attack on Batticaloa. On the 10th May the whole of the Dutch fleet, consisting of five ships, with 840 men, arrived off that city, and the following day a landing was effected. The attacking party was divided into two companies, and these, with the assistance of the natives, erected two batteries, one on the east, and the other on the south side of the fort, which were armed with guns from the fleet. Raja Singha also brought to the attack a force of 2,000 men.

The batteries began to play on the fort on the 18th May, and after a bombardment of four hours the Commander capitulated. The conditions of the surrender were, that the Portuguese and Mestisoes in the fortress, to the number of 108 persons, should leave it without taking anything away with them, and be permitted to leave for Negapatam with their wives and children, who were taken thither in a Dutch vessel. Of the natives found there, fifty of the principal men were impaled on lances as a punishment for having killed one of the Raja's nobles, whilst the remainder, with their wives and children, were distributed amongst the native nobles as slaves.

Trincomali might easily have been captured immediately after the fall of Batticaloa, as it was garrisoned by only fifty soldiers, but instead of attacking that place Raja Singha led his army back to Colombo, which town he was then besieging with 20,000 men.

CHAP. X.

A.D. 1638.

The state of affairs in India greatly concerned the King of Spain at this time. According to the report sent home by the Viceroy, the Dutch now had a monopoly of trade in China from the Bay of Cochin China down to the point of Sunda. In Cochin China and Tonquin they had established large factories, and had also opened up commerce on the Amoy river, immediately opposite the island of Formosa, where they exchanged pepper for silk, and from whence also they traded to Japan. They had, too, started factories at Camboja, Siam, Borneo, Amboina, Maluco, Jambi, and Dandarquin, besides enjoying the lordship of the islands of Banda, and of many other places as far as Achin. In the Bay of Bengal they had ample commerce at the ports on the coast of Gergelim, Masulipatam, Paliacate, Trivanapatam, and other factories above Galle, as well as in the kingdoms of Bisnaga, Golconda, and in the provinces of the Mughal and of the Adil Shah, besides enormous commerce with Surat, Persia, the Straits of Mecca, and many islands in the Eastern seas.

In order to put a stop to the traffic in young children, a law was about this time passed prohibiting the taking to India of any youths under thirteen years of age. His Majesty strongly urged upon the Viceroy the great importance of retaining Malacca, as it was only by keeping possession of that place the Portuguese could hope to retain the trade with China and the south. But whilst expressing great concern regarding the state of affairs in India, His Majesty was unable then to send any assistance, as a large fleet had recently been dispatched to the Brazils to dislodge the Dutch from that country. The Viceroy, in reply, urged that without assistance it would be impossible to carry on the government of India, and remarked that, if no relief could be sent, it would only remain to wind up the affairs of the State in the East and surrender their possessions there.

On the 15th November, 1638, the Dutch again appeared before Goa, and blockaded that port with a fleet

of eleven vessels, whence they sent an ambassador to the Adil Khan proposing that he should join them in expelling the Portuguese from the country. CHAP. X. A.D. 1639.

Owing to the blockade, the Portuguese ships were unable to leave Goa, and the Viceroy, feeling himself unequal to cope with the Dutch forces single-handed, also despatched an embassy to the Adil Khan, with the view of inducing him to help them to turn out the Dutch. Their ambassador, however, met with but little encouragement, and entirely failed to accomplish his object, for not only were the Dutch permitted to retain peaceable possession of their factory at Vingorla, but they were also negotiating for another factory at Karwar, where, too, the English were endeavouring to obtain a site for a similar purpose.

In January, 1639, a Portuguese fleet arrived at Goa from the Cape, and other vessels about the same time came there from the Coromandel coast, all of which succeeded in evading the Dutch fleet and in entering the harbour. Having received these reinforcements, the Viceroy summoned a council to consider as to the advisability of fighting the enemy, but the majority, contrary to the views of His Excellency, considered that it would be more to the advantage of the State to send a strong fleet to the relief of Ceylon.

The blockading fleet retired from before Goa in February, and went to Ceylon to the assistance of the King of Kandy against the Portuguese. Goa was thus relieved, but, owing to the strength of the enemy in the neighbouring seas, the Portuguese were only able to carry on their trade with the south in rowing-boats which, owing to their size and draught, could always escape the enemy's vessels by keeping close inshore.

On the 24th of June, 1639, Pedro da Silva died, and upon the Patents of Succession being opened it was found that Antonio Telles de Menezes was the first named to succeed as Governor, but as he was at that moment absent from headquarters, D. F. Francisco, Archbishop of Goa,

CHAP. X. A.D. 1639.

who was one of those named in the Patent, assumed the government in his name, and at once sent advice to Antonio Telles of his election to the government.

D. F. Francisco did not await the arrival of the new Governor before taking such steps in the interests of the government that seemed to him necessary. He lost no time in providing further relief for Malacca, and to this end he fitted out twelve men-of-war and some victualling ships carrying provisions.

On the 13th August, 1639, an ambassador arrived at Goa from the Naik of Madura, who gave the Viceroy an assurance, on the part of his master, that in consideration of the assistance that had been sent to him when he wished to take Marava, he undertook to give the King of Portugal a fortress in Pampa, called Uthear, or wherever he might desire one, with a Portuguese captain, fifty Portuguese soldiers, 100 lascars, and 3,000 pardaos for the maintenance of the same; he also undertook to build at his own cost a church at Ramnad, and seven churches between Pambam and Tondi. The Naik also gave permission to all those who might desire it to become Christians, and promised to furnish gratuitously to the King of Portugal all the assistance he might require, both in men and supplies, for service in Ceylon. He further undertook not to be friendly to the Dutch, nor to admit them into his territories, whilst his vessels would also not be permitted to visit Dutch ports.

Antonio Telles de Menezes left Goa with some of his vessels, to assume the command at Daman, on the death of the late Governor there, whilst the Viceroy Pedro da Silva was yet alive, and it would appear that Goa must have been left in a defenceless condition, since nine Dutch ships now entered the river and burnt three Portuguese galleons that were lying at Marmagão without meeting with any opposition, the fort at that place being at the time in an absolutely defenceless position, and destitute of both men and ammunition.

Upon hearing of his succession to the Viceroyalty, Antonio Telles hastened back to Goa to assume the reins of government, and took possession of his office on the 4th October, 1639. He was extremely angry to find that the Dutch had been permitted to destroy these vessels without the slightest attempt at defence. His short term of office was not destined to afford him much ease or relief from misfortune, for shortly after he reached Goa news arrived that the Dutch and Achinese had combined their forces, and had appeared before Malacca with a fleet of twelve Dutch men-of-war and twenty-five Achinese galleys.

The low state of the finances of India at this moment rendered it very difficult to equip an efficient force for the relief of Malacca, and whilst Antonio Telles was straining every nerve to effect this object, João da Silva Tello de Menezes, Conde de Aveiras, arrived at Goa from Lisbon to assume the office of Viceroy on the 20th September, 1640, and took over the government from his predecessor on the following day. After handing over the sword of office to his successor, Antonio Telles de Menezes returned home to Portugal.

João da Silva Tello de Menezes was the last Viceroy of India appointed by the King of Spain. Soon after taking up his appointment, João da Silva Tello de Menezes wrote to Lisbon stating that no fleet had been sent home that year owing to a want of people and money; and with regard to the then existing state of affairs in India he reported that two galleons had been burnt; Ceylon was on the point of being lost; Malacca was in a miserable state, as were also all the other fortresses in the kingdom; and, he remarked, that if the fleet in which he sailed had not arrived, everything would probably have been lost in India. Whilst he was on his way to India events of great political importance were taking place in Europe, to which it will be necessary to make some reference before proceeding further with the account of what was then occurring in India.

CHAP. X.

A.D. 1640.

Spain, which had risen to be the greatest power in Europe, was now on the rapid decline; the prosperity she had enjoyed during the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II. had passed away never to return, and the fate of Portugal was necessarily involved in that of Spain. During the reigns of Philip III. and Philip IV. a feeling of unrest and discontent had begun to grow amongst certain of the Portuguese nobles, which was secretly encouraged by the agents of Cardinal Richelieu in that country. France was now emerging from the results of the civil wars of the sixteenth century, and the policy of her rulers was to weaken Spain still further than had already taken place, and to assist her in that downward course which her ill-fated policy had brought about.

Portugal had already exhibited symptoms of rebellion against the ruling powers; in 1634 the people of Lisbon had refused to pay their taxes; in 1637 a serious riot broke out at Evora, which place remained in a state of insurrection for many months; and attacks upon Spanish soldiers and officials constantly took place all over the country. As France was now looking to Portugal to aid her in her designs against Spain, so also Portugal looked to France as the one ally most likely to render her substantial assistance in the struggle which, it appeared only too certain, she would shortly make to regain her freedom.

In searching for a leader of the contemplated revolution the people of Portugal naturally fixed their choice upon João, Duke of Braganza, who was the legitimate heir to the throne of Portugal. He was married to Donna Luisa de Guzman, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and it was hoped that this union would have tended to bind the Braganza family closer to Spain. The Duchess, however, on her marriage, threw herself heart and soul into the cause of Portugal, and being aware of her husband's claim to that throne, only too willingly aided and abetted those who were now preparing for a revolution in order to throw off the Spanish yoke. At this time Portugal was

nominally under the rule of Margaret of Savoy, Duchess of Mantua, and her Court was, contrary to the promises made by Philip II. to the Cortes of Thomar, entirely filled by foreigners, principally Spaniards or Italians. The most important native of the country admitted to the council of the Duchess of Mantua was Dom Sebastião de Mattos de Noronha, Archbishop of Braga, but the chief administrative power was confided to Miguel de Vasconcellos de Brito, a man intensely hated by his fellow-countrymen.

The principal agent of the rebellion was João Pinto Ribeiro, who, acting with the full sanction of the Duchess of Braganza, began to form a conspiracy among the leading Portuguese noblemen with the view of bringing about a revolution, and of expelling the Spaniards. The principal means employed to bring these nobles together was the organisation of great hunting-parties at Villa Viçosa, at which they had an opportunity of making the acquaintance of their future King.

It was not long before the Spanish Minister, Olivares, began to entertain suspicions as to what was going on; and in order to remove the Duke of Braganza from the country, he offered him the government of the Milanese, which the Duke declined on the score of ignorance of Italian politics. Olivares next, in order to get the Duke out of the way, directed him to make a tour of Portugal, in his capacity of Constable, to inspect the condition of the defences. This tour gave the Duke an opportunity to make the acquaintance of the greater part of the people, while he avoided falling into the various traps set for him. Being thus again thwarted by the Duke, Olivares next ordered him, together with the chief of the Portuguese nobles, to proceed directly to Madrid, to serve under the King in person, in putting down a rebellion in Catalan.

The time had now clearly arrived when the blow for freedom must be struck, or it would be too late. This was fully realised by the conspirators, and they accordingly arranged to take immediate action in the matter. On the

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morning of the 1st December, 1640, they assembled by different streets in front of the palace, and at a prearranged signal each conspirator went to his appointed place. The Viceregal Court was quite unprepared for resistance; the German and Spanish guards at the palace were overpowered without any difficulty; a party, under the leadership of Ribeiro, forced their way into the palace, and secured the person of the Duchess of Mantua, and made her a prisoner.

As soon as the people of Lisbon became aware of what was taking place, they rose in a body, and having armed themselves with whatever weapons they could procure, arrested every Spaniard they could find. All the political prisoners were set free, and some young men rowing off to the Spanish galleons in the port, obtained easy possession of them, since most of their officers had already been arrested on shore. Dom Antonio de Almeida forced the Duchess of Mantua to sign an order for the surrender of the Castle of S. Jorge, under a threat of assassinating all the Spanish prisoners already taken should she decline to do so.

After this the Archbishop of Lisbon was proclaimed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and a Council of State was appointed. The new Government sent off expresses in all directions to announce the news of the successful revolution, and obtained peaceable possession of all the chief fortresses and strong places round Lisbon. On the following day Affonso de Mello took possession of Elvas, the strongest city of Portugal, in the name of João IV., without any bloodshed. On the 3rd December the Duke of Braganza entered Lisbon amidst general rejoicings, and on the 15th of the same month he was solemnly crowned in the cathedral of Lisbon.

At the time when Portugal acquired her independence, the several possessions in the East that belonged to that kingdom were, in Africa, the forts of Sofala and Mombassa, and the city and fort of Mozambique. Between

the mouth of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, they possessed the fortress of Muscat. Between Bussora and the peninsula of India they had the forts of Bandel and Diu. Thence to Cape Comorin they claimed the forts of Daman, Assarim, Danu, S. Geus, Agashi, Mahim, Manora, Trapor, Bassein with the city of Thana, Caranja, Chaul, and Morro. On the island of Goa they had several forts, also one in Bardes, and the fort of Rachol in Salsette; further south they had the forts of Onor, Barcelor, Mangalor, Cannanore, Cranganor, Cochin, and Quilon.

Between Cape Comorin and the Ganges the Portuguese possessed forts at Negapatam, Meliapor, and Masulipatam. And beyond the Ganges they held only Malacca and Macao, and a fort on the island of Timor. In Ceylon they still possessed Colombo, Manar, Galle, Negumbo, and Jafanapatam.

Information relative to the change in the administration in the Portuguese kingdom was speedily communicated to her several colonies and dependencies, at all of which Dom João IV. was proclaimed King with great demonstrations of joy.

Troubles now began to fall thick and fast upon the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf. In 1640 certain Arabs employed in the Custom House at Muscat, having informed the Imaum that the Portuguese fortress there was in a very undefended state, owing to the majority of the soldiers having been sent away with the fleet, he attacked the place, but was repulsed by its garrison with considerable loss. But not long afterwards, on the 7th November, 1643, the Imaum took Sohar, killing the guard and capturing thirty-seven prisoners.

As soon as Portugal had recovered her independence, a treaty of peace was concluded, on the 12th June, 1641, between King Dom João IV. and the United Provinces, in which stipulations were made to the following effect :—

In the East Indies, and in all the lands and seas

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under the jurisdiction granted by the States-General to the East India Company, the aforesaid treaty was to come into force one year after the date of its signature. Should, however, the proclamation of peace reach any of those lands before the year had expired, all acts of hostility were to cease at once. All the Kings, Sovereigns, and nations in the East Indies who might be friends of, or in confederation with, the States-General, or the East India Company of the United Provinces were to be included in this treaty. All Portuguese ships from Portugal to those parts, and *vice versâ*, were not to be molested by the Dutch fleets, but to have perfect freedom on the seas for the space of ten years; and at the same time the ships of the United Provinces were also to be similarly free from molestation on the part of the Portuguese. The subjects of the East India Company of the United Provinces were to enjoy, in the dominions of the King of Portugal, the same exemptions and liberties and rights as the other subjects of the United Provinces enjoyed under this treaty, provided the East India Company and its subjects did not convey from Brazil sugar, Brazilian wood, or any other Brazilian product to Portugal, and the Portuguese did not convey the same from Brazil to the said Provinces. The Dutch and Portuguese were to aid each other, should occasion arise, while this treaty lasted. Every subject of the one or the other signatory party was to be left as he was, and in the enjoyment of such goods as he should be possessed of, at the time of the proclamation of this treaty, and all the lands and districts between the forts of one and the other were also to remain as at that time.

A Treaty of Peace and Commerce was also concluded between King Charles I. of England and Dom João IV. King of Portugal, dated the 29th January, 1642; the twelfth clause of which dealt specially with the Indian trade, and was as follows: "And that the Treaty of Truce* made between Dom Michael de Noronha, Conde de

* For terms of this Truce see page 240.

Linhares, Viceroy of Goa, and William Methwold, President of the English in the East Indies, the 20th of January, 1635, N.S., shall be continued and kept between the subjects of both Kings in the East Indies, and in all the states of the most renowned King of Portugal beyond the Cape of Good Hope; and that the commissioners to be named by both Kings shall, within three months, take cognizance of the demands which have been or shall be made by the subjects and ships of the said Kings in the East Indies, with relation to their commerce in the said Indies; that so, by this means, a perpetual peace and alliance may be established and confirmed by both Kings between their subjects on both sides."

Shortly before the signing of the above-mentioned treaty with the Dutch, King Dom João IV. wrote on the 18th March, 1641, announcing his accession to the throne, and informing the Viceroy that he had received offers both from the English and Dutch to assist him. With regard to the Dutch, he instructed the Viceroy to acquaint them that all causes for war had now ceased, that an armistice was to be declared, and that no hostilities were to be commenced pending further orders. The native Princes in India were also to be informed that there would be now no further wars between the Europeans in India.

The hopes that dictated this letter were, however, not destined to be realised. On the 17th October following, a Dutch fleet, consisting of four large and two small vessels, arrived off Goa, and these were a few days after joined temporarily by two more large ships. Some months later a Portuguese fleet, sailing towards India, met with a Dutch fleet, whereupon an engagement ensued, in which the latter was defeated. In India, the Dutch still continued to molest the Portuguese, and declined to desist until they should receive definite instructions from the Prince of Orange.

In Ceylon, the Dutch continued to molest the Portuguese. After having driven the Portuguese from Kandy, the King

CHAP. X. A.D. 1640. of that place sent to Batavia for the purpose of making an alliance with the Dutch against them. In consequence of this mission part of the Dutch fleet then before Goa departed for Ceylon in February, 1639, and these were joined by six vessels from Batavia, which carried with them instructions to attack the Portuguese forts at Batticaloa and Trincomali, both of which places they destroyed with the greatest ease. The former was taken on the 15th August, 1639, and the latter in the following year. The capture of these forts placed the whole island almost within the grasp of the Dutch, and orders were accordingly sent out from Lisbon that every effort should be made to deprive them of their positions there. In order further to harass them, the Mataran (one of the Kings of Java) was to be induced not to make peace with the Dutch, and to this end the Viceroy was instructed to hold out prospects of assistance to him, without, however, compromising himself too far in the matter.

In the middle of January, 1640, the combined Dutch fleets, numbering twelve vessels, appeared off Colombo, and proceeding a little further north, troops were landed at a village called Caimel, north of Negumbo, and the fort of the latter place was captured without any resistance on the 9th February, it being garrisoned only by aged men.

The Dutch fleet then proceeded to Galle, and cast anchor within cannon shot of the shore on the 8th March. A force landed the same day to the north of the town, meeting with but little resistance, and having been formed into three companies, they marched against the town. A party of 350 men arrived opportunely from the fortress of Colombo to the relief of Galle, and these attacked the Dutch on the 9th, killing and wounding a great many of them. On the 11th, the army of the King of Kandy arrived at Belligaum, six miles from Galle, but without waiting for these to join them three of the Dutch fleet entered Galle harbour, and a force of

400 men, consisting of both soldiers and sailors, was landed. The walls of the fort were then attacked, and by the following day a breach had been made in the bulwark of S. Iago. An assault was made on the 13th, and after a vigorous defence for one and a half hour, the garrison were driven out and the town was captured by the Dutch.

On the arrival of João da Silva Tello (Conde de Aveiras) as Viceroy, he appointed Dom Antonio Mascarenhas as Captain-General of Ceylon, who forthwith proceeded thither, and arrived with his fleet near Negumbo on the night of the 24th October. On the 26th he ordered some troops to approach the fortress, and on the 2nd November he sent his artillery up the river, which was landed within musket shot of the enemy, whilst he led a further detachment of troops to join the others. Next morning trenches were opened; the artillery was placed in position about 300 paces from the fort, and the attack was commenced. During the first day the Portuguese guns produced but little effect upon the walls, but after a while a breach was effected, and some of the enemy's guns were dismounted. Meanwhile another battery was opened on an adjoining island, and preparations were being made for an attack from this point also, when three Frenchmen were sent from the fortress to ask for terms on behalf of the garrison. Negotiations followed, and at nine o'clock the next morning, 8th November, 115 Europeans handed over the fortress and laid down their arms.

Immediately the fortress had been given up, a messenger was captured who was carrying information to the besieged garrison that Dom Balthezar, with 3,000 troops, was approaching to the relief of the fortress, and was already only a league distant. A body of Portuguese troops was at once sent to meet him, and as soon as the two forces were in sight of each other the firing of a salute on the occasion of hoisting the Portuguese flag at Negumbo caused

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a panic amongst the Cingalese troops, who took to flight followed by the Portuguese. The native army was utterly defeated, and Dom Balthezar was captured and executed.

The Portuguese had suffered greatly for several years past at Malacca, owing to the persistent obstruction by the Dutch to their trade there. Practically the Dutch had commenced their operations against that place so early as 1633, gradually increasing the strictness of their blockade year by year, assisted to some extent by Achinese vessels. Several Portuguese vessels were taken by the enemy, whilst others had only escaped capture by being run on shore. Owing to the close investment of the port, vessels could only get out with great difficulty, and its trade was completely paralysed.

In a letter dated March, 1638, the King of Portugal had impressed upon the Viceroy the great importance of Malacca, as it was, he remarked, only by the retention of that place that they could hope to retain their trade with China and the south. At that time, however, the difficulties of the situation had become greatly increased, owing to the scarcity of food in Malacca, and a famine which had begun in the town. The Dutch Governor-General at Batavia at this time was the celebrated Antonio van Dieman, who, as soon as he heard of the condition the garrison were in at Malacca, judged that the time had arrived when an attack on the place might be undertaken with every prospect of success. To this end he first made overtures to the King of Achin, who, however, took no part in the enterprise. The Dutch Governor-General then applied to the King of Johore,* an old enemy of the Portuguese, who agreed to join in the war.

In May, 1640, Antonio van Dieman sent Sergeant-Major Adriaan Antonissoon to take charge of the expedition, with orders to compel the town to surrender, either by treaty, by siege, or by storming. In the beginning of June, the

* This appears to be the same person who, in the Portuguese Records is referred to as the King of Bintang.

place was so closely blockaded by twelve ships and six sloops, that nothing could possibly reach the town. Some boats with victuals, and a ship with auxiliary troops from Goa, were captured on their way to relieve the garrison. In July a fleet of forty vessels, with 1,400 or 1,500 men, arrived from the King of Johore. The Dutch army consisted of about the same number, and was composed partly of Dutchmen and partly of Germans. On the 2nd August these combined forces landed about a third of a mile north of the suburb of Malacca, and chased the Portuguese, about 100 strong, out of a bulwark, and drove them into the city.

The Dutch army then occupied the suburb, where they erected two batteries, about a pistol-shot distant from the walls of the town. A fierce cannonade was then commenced against the city walls, and, notwithstanding a gallant defence, several breaches were soon made. So valiantly was the defence conducted that the Dutch army desisted from giving an assault, and they continued to batter the town from both their ships and their land batteries. In the meanwhile the Johore fleet kept a close watch over the harbour, and prevented any relief being conveyed to Malacca by sea.

During the five months from August, 1640, to January, 1641, several bloody encounters took place between the Dutch and the Portuguese on land and at sea, in which, notwithstanding the bravery of the latter, the Dutch nearly always remained the victors. These encounters were principally due to the Portuguese being compelled by famine to send out foraging parties, which the Dutch endeavoured to prevent from accomplishing their object.

The siege continued so long in consequence, to a great extent, of the natural strength of the place; the fire from the Dutch guns inflicted great damage upon most of the public buildings, and scarcely a house, either in the town or suburb, escaped without some damage. Notwithstanding this, the garrison continued to reply to the Dutch fire with

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their heavy pieces on the walls, and from a battery on the mountain of S. Paulo. Many lives were lost on both sides from the fire of the big guns, added to which the plague broke out in the Dutch fleet and amongst their troops, which caused more deaths than the guns of the Portuguese. Owing to these losses, and consequent want of sufficient numbers of men, the besiegers were unable to make their blockade as close as they could have desired.

Deserters from the Dutch army informed the Portuguese of the condition of the besiegers, and this news infused them with fresh hopes and courage. On the other hand, some who escaped from Malacca stated in the Dutch camp that the city was defended by only 200 whites and 500 black troops; that the famine was so severe and food such a price that it had been found necessary to send all the women and children out of the town to reduce the numbers dependent upon the available supplies. A story was also told, expressive of the severity of the famine, that a mother had exhumed the body of her dead child for food. The only hope for the garrison now was, either that assistance should arrive from Goa, or that the Dutch would raise the siege.

The plague appears to have caused as much loss to the Dutch as famine did to the Portuguese, and from November to January it carried off all the principal commanders of the besiegers. The new Dutch commander, Willemssoon Caartekoe, as soon as he was appointed, determined to put an end to the existing state of affairs by dealing a last blow to the town, and he accordingly ordered a general assault to be given on the 14th January, 1641.

Early in the morning of that day all the soldiers and sailors who were well enough for the duty—numbering altogether only 650 men—were drawn up in three troops, each under its own commander, and these were marched with some guns to the bulwark of S. Domingo, the sailors of this force carrying with them ladders and fireworks. Upon a given signal, the attack was given, but was met

by a most determined resistance. The besiegers, however, pressed on, and, after a violent hand-to-hand struggle in the breach, succeeded in capturing the fort. As the Portuguese retired they were pursued by the Dutch to the fort "Madre de Dios," on the wall of the town, which was also conquered after a comparatively feeble resistance. Other forts were speedily captured, but on arrival at Fortilessa Vilha they met with such a warm reception from shot, firepots, &c., that they were forced to retire and seek shelter from the Portuguese fire in the Hospital Fort, whence they engaged in an artillery duel with Fortilessa Vilha.

During this engagement, Caartekoe, the Dutch commander, who was now ill, left his bed, and from the walls of the fort offered the Portuguese, on condition of their surrendering, that every inhabitant of the town should be allowed full freedom, but that all the soldiers should be considered prisoners of war. The town was accordingly surrendered to the Dutch; and, as the forts occupied by the Portuguese troops were abandoned, they were occupied by Dutch soldiers. The remains of the Portuguese army gave themselves up to the Dutch on the 14th January, 1641, and the troops of the latter took possession of the town without any violence or opposition.

The troops of the King of Johore, who, it had been arranged, were to have made a feint against the fort S. Iago, held back until they saw that all the most important points had been captured and occupied by the Dutch. They then advanced and endeavoured to enter the town through the breach made by the Dutch guns, but the Dutch commander compelled them to remain outside, for fear lest their presence should lead to disturbances and the shedding of more Christian blood.

Dom Manoel de Sousa Coutinho died two days after the capture of Malacca, and was buried by the Dutch, with military honours, in the church of S. Domingo. Some of the Portuguese officers left for Negapatam in a

CHAP. X. Dutch ship, whilst others, with the Portuguese troops, were sent as prisoners of war to Batavia.

A.D. 1641-43. An enquiry held subsequently, relative to the loss of Malacca, elicited the fact that this result was in some measure due to a quarrel between Dom Diogo Coutinho de Oçem, captain of the fortress, and Luiz Martius de Sousa, captain-general of the fleet. The latter was captured by the Dutch and carried to Batavia, whence he was subsequently sent to Goa, where both he and Diogo Coutinho de Oçem were imprisoned. The Viceroy, in reporting this loss to the King, suggested that one of the objects of the proposed peace with the Dutch should be, if possible, to obtain the restitution of Malacca, but, failing this, he urged that a new settlement should be formed in the neighbourhood, for which purpose he suggested the river of Formosa (now called S. Bâtu Bahat), twelve leagues from Malacca, as a suitable site. Neither of these objects was, however, realised, and with the year 1641 ended the Portuguese power in the Malay Peninsula.

Under the excuse that no official notification had reached Batavia of the ratification of the treaty between Portugal and Holland, the Dutch were, in the beginning of February, 1643, preparing an expedition to fall on Colombo, with the aid of the King of Kandy. On the 2nd March following, the Dutch Commissioner, Pedro Boreel, arrived in India with the armistice, and proceeded first to Galle, where, however, he declined to publish it, on the ground that as the Dutch were entirely hemmed in there at that time, he thought it best that the fight should continue. He then proceeded to Goa, where he arrived on the 1st April, and here also he declined to publish the armistice unless the Portuguese would first give up the lands around Galle, giving the following reasons for not including Galle in the armistice :—

"When I arrived at Ceylon, the Portuguese forces were in our lands subject to the kingdom of Galle, in which they possessed no fortress whatever, and to which, there-

fore, they could have no right; being called upon by me, they declined to evacuate the same lands.

"Being also called upon by me to leave us in free possession of the lands of Saffragão, which, as well as those of Galle, are mortgaged to us by the Emperor of Ceylon, Raja Singha, for a large sum of money spent on His Majesty's behalf, they also refused; and that in spite of their not possessing any fortress whatever there, the lands being now under the government of the Emperor of the island of Ceylon, Raja Singha."

The Viceroy, in reply, denied that these lands belonged to the Emperor at all, and thus, not being his to mortgage, he must respectfully decline to surrender them. Pedro Boreel thereupon returned on board his vessel on the 23rd April, declaring that the war would remain on the same footing as before. Against this the Viceroy entered a solemn protest, and suggested, as a possible solution of the difficulty, that the King of Portugal should purchase the fortress of Galle, which might, he thought, with advantage be paid for in cinnamon. Pending negotiations to this end, however, he requested that a peremptory order might be obtained from the States-General ordering the armistice to be observed in India.

After leaving Goa without proclaiming the armistice, Pedro Boreel proceeded to Galle, where he arrived on the 8th May, 1643, and disembarked 300 men, who, being joined by a part of the garrison, established a camp outside the walls of the fortress. Next morning he sent a messenger to the Portuguese captain-general renewing the declaration of war, and two days later, on the 10th, he marched against the Portuguese camp with 400 Dutch troops and some blacks. Passing through Belligaum he left fifty men there to hold it for the Dutch, and continued his march to Aldea Curazza, three leagues from Galle, into the interior, with the view of taking the Portuguese by surprise. On the morning of the 11th, when the Portuguese were at Mass at Curazza, news arrived that the enemy were

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in sight. Seizing their arms they rushed to encounter them, and in the battle that ensued the Dutch were completely routed and put to flight with the loss of 160 killed and fifty prisoners, together with all their arms, flags, and drums. The Portuguese had in this engagement only 200 men, all Europeans, and their loss was twenty-two killed and eighty wounded. The Dutch, retreating through Belligaum, were rejoined by the garrison they had left there, and Boreel with the remainder of his forces embarked in a vessel that was awaiting him in Belligaum Bay.

Upon hearing that the armistice had not yet been proclaimed, and that the Dutch had again invaded Ceylon, the King of Kandy prepared to join them, but when he learned that they had been routed, and that a large force of Portuguese was advancing to meet him, he withdrew to his own kingdom.

Pedro Boreel, after leaving Ceylon, went to Tranquebar, and endeavoured to persuade the Naik of Tanjore to continue the war with the Portuguese and to besiege Negapatam, offering to bring, in the next monsoon, a large force from Jakatra to aid him in the capture of that town. The Naik, however, not only refused to act on this suggestion, but he made a peace with the Portuguese. Pedro Boreel continued his voyage to Paliacate, and a few days after his arrival there was found dead in his bed.

The Portuguese forces continued the siege of Galle, but on the news of the defeat of the Dutch forces there reaching Batavia, a reinforcement of 300 men was sent thence for the relief of that fort.

On the 12th April, 1643, a Dutch fleet appeared off Negapatam and summoned the town to surrender, in support of which demand 600 men were landed who took forcible possession of it. The inhabitants, however, paid a ransom for them to retire, and two days later a Portuguese fleet hove in sight, whereupon the Dutch troops re-

embarked with all speed. An engagement ensued in which the Portuguese lost two ships, but otherwise the action seems to have been indecisive, except that the Dutch fleet retired. The Viceroy, however, claimed that the action had relieved Negapatam and Ceylon.

On the 27th September, five Dutch vessels arrived at Goa, and the captain of the fleet informed the Viceroy that he was authorised to arrange the armistice on condition that half the lands previously claimed between Galle and Colombo were surrendered. Negotiations followed, but as the Viceroy refused to entertain any proposal for the surrender of lands in Ceylon, the Dutch captain suggested, as an alternative, an armistice from Cape Comorin to the point of Diu. But as this would have excluded Ceylon, the coast of Coromandel and China, the proposal was declined.

A Dutch fleet of fourteen vessels arrived off Galle on the 22nd December, 1643, and sailed up the coast, whereupon the captain of the forces besieging Galle raised his camp and retired upon Colombo, whence he was ordered to take up a position upon a small island in front of Negumbo. Shortly afterwards the Dutch fleet hove in sight and disembarked some troops within gunshot of that fortress, whereupon two officers commanding the Portuguese forces, disobeying superior orders, rushed to attack them in a disorderly manner, and in less than two hours were defeated with the loss of 300 men, amongst whom were both those captains. The fortress was thus retaken by the Dutch on the 3rd January, 1644, and the captain-general with the remainder of his force retired to Colombo.

In giving an account of the state of India to the King of Portugal, the Conde de Aveiras, writing in December, 1643, informed His Majesty that the only fortress possessed by the Dutch in Ceylon was the fortress of Galle, and they were so hemmed in there that they could not put their feet outside of it. He further stated that the Portu-

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guese were in absolute possession of the rest of the island.* The Zamorin, the Adil Khan, and the Princes of Malabar were on good terms with the Portuguese, but the King of Achin and all the Kings of the south were against them; Japan had closed her ports to them with very little prospect of their being reopened, and this circumstance operated to the great prejudice of the city of Macao, for since the trade with Manilla was now lost, unless that with Japan could be reopened Macao must die of inanition. The Dutch, notwithstanding the armistice, not only refused to discontinue hostilities, but maintained a blockade of the port of Goa, and had taken several Portuguese vessels. As an illustration of the bad faith of the Dutch, the Viceroy reported that two merchant vessels from Muscat to Chaul being met by five Dutch vessels, the latter hoisted a white flag, whereupon one of the Portuguese vessels did not alter her course, and was captured by the Dutch; the other vessel, not trusting to the white flag, altered her course, and, steering clear of the enemy, escaped. The Viceroy subsequently appealed to the Dutch Commodore at Surat against this breach of the armistice, but he informed His Majesty that he had little hope of his claim being attended to.

* It would appear from this statement that on obtaining possession of Batticaloa and Trinquimali, the Dutch must have destroyed the fortresses at those places, but there is nothing on record to justify that assumption.

CHAPTER XI.

Don Filippe Mascarenhas appointed Viceroy—The English and Dutch Trade at Goa—Publication of the Treaty of June, 1641, at Goa —Division of Certain Lands in Ceylon between the Dutch and Portuguese—Embassy to Japan—The Portuguese Ambassador Ordered to Leave—Trade Opened from Macao with the Tartars —Attempts to Turn the Native Kings against the Dutch— Attack by the Dutch on Tuticorin—Genoese Expedition to the East—Capture of Muscat by the Arabs—Expeditions by Various Nations against the Brazils—Trouble caused to Portugal by the Parliamentary Fleet—Decay of the Portuguese Power in India—Death of the Conde de Aveiras on his way to India—Dom Vasco Mascarenhas, Conde de Abidos, appointed Viceroy—Capture of Cambolin by Shivappa Naik—Revolt and Deposition of the Viceroy—Dom Braz de Castro assumes the Government—Engagement between the Dutch and English Fleets off Sind—Capture of Kaltura from the Dutch—March of the Adil Khan against Bardes and Goa—Attack on Colombo by the Dutch—Treaty of Peace between the English and Portuguese—Treaty with the Adil Khan—Arrival of Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira as Viceroy—Encounters with the Dutch and with Raja Singha in Ceylon—Surrender of Kaltura to the Dutch—Capture of Colombo by the Dutch.

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1644-45.

DOM FILIPPE MASCARENHAS was nominated Viceroy of India on the 10th of April, 1644, and he arrived in Ceylon on the 10th of the following September, and here assumed charge of the government. He remained here about a year and then proceeded to Goa, where he was solemnly installed as Viceroy on the 30th December, 1645.

Dom Filippe Mascarenhas took over the appointment of Viceroy under circumstances of exceptional difficulty, owing to the total absence of means to efficiently carry on the administration of the Portuguese possessions. Not-

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1644. withstanding that an edict had been passed so long back as December, 1642, opening the trade with India to all Portuguese subjects—with the exception of cinnamon, which was still to be reserved as a royal monopoly—the Camara of Goa complained that, owing to the want of Portuguese vessels, the English had been taking some cinnamon and other drugs instead of these going in Portuguese bottoms. The Dutch also obtained some trade in Goa, and it was alleged that a part of the cinnamon thus carried away had belonged to the Portuguese Government.

Upon these facts coming to the knowledge of the King, His Majesty remarked that the good understanding existing with the English was not intended to be extended to allowing them to take these drugs to the detriment of the royal finances. It appears that the revenues of Goa were further affected, and its trade diminished, owing to the Moors having now ceased to take precious stones and merchandise to Goa, on account of the duties levied there. These they now sold to the English and Dutch, either from their ships direct on the bar of Goa, or at other ports not subject to the Portuguese, and where no duties were levied.

Orders were also sent this year to India to the effect that the English should not be allowed to buy cinnamon or drugs of any kind at Cochin, and that every effort was to be made to prevent them from trading with Kanara. To this the Viceroy replied that the best way to effect the desired object would be to supply him with money to enable him to buy up all the pepper; His Majesty had, however, to admit his inability to carry out that proposal, owing to the want of means and the great rise in the value of silver.

To such an impoverished condition had the Government of India now fallen, that they were this year unable to accept an offer made by the King of Quilon of a site for the erection of a Portuguese fortress at Olala, owing

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to the total want of means either to build or to maintain it. The difficulties in which the State was involved in India were, it must be admitted, due as much to the action of the Portuguese themselves as to other causes. Instead of exerting their influence for the benefit of the Government, complaints were made about this time that Portuguese subjects on the Coromandel coast carried on commerce direct with the English and Dutch, by which means they succeeded in evading the duties at the Portuguese ports.

The Treaty of June, 1641, concluded between the Dutch and Portuguese, was at last published in Goa on the 10th November, 1644. A provisional treaty was shortly afterwards agreed to, between the King of Portugal and the States-General, respecting certain doubts as to the jurisdiction of the territories of the fortress of Galle, which was signed at the Hague on the 27th March, 1645. Under this agreement, the possessors of that fort were to have the use of the lands in the same way as they had at the time the Treaty of 1641 was signed, but they were not to grow cinnamon while the dispute lasted, during which time, however, the King of Portugal agreed to deliver annually to the Dutch, at the said fort, 600 quintals (about 30 tons) of that spice. The King of Portugal and the States-General undertook to consider the dispute and to settle the matter; but, in the event of their failing to agree, the question was to be submitted to arbitration. Under this treaty all vessels and goods seized, as well as places and forts taken by either party, since the Treaty of 1641 was proclaimed, were to be immediately restored.

In accordance with this treaty an arrangement was made for a division of the lands of Ceylon between the two States, under which Colombo was to have seven provinces attached to it, Negumbo eight, and certain other provinces were to be divided between them. The demarcation between Colombo and Galle was to be the River Alecan,

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1644-47.

which river and its fort were to remain in the possession of the Portuguese, with a right reserved to the Dutch of using the river. The Portuguese Viceroy, whilst agreeing with this division with the view of preventing further bloodshed, protested against it as not being in accordance with the letter of the treaty.

It appears from a letter addressed in April, 1645, by the Portuguese Ambassador in London to the Viceroy, that the terms of the above-mentioned treaty were agreed to on the intervention of the King of France.

In January, 1644, an embassy was sent to Japan by the Viceroy, but, on its arrival at Macao, the inhabitants of that place protested so strongly against it that it was forced to return to India. On the 30th April, 1646, the same embassy started again from Goa, and arrived at Macao on the 25th July. Leaving there on the 11th August it was forced by stress of weather to put back, and it passed the remainder of the year at Macao. On the 8th July, 1647, it once more started, and on the 26th *idem* reached the Island of Cavallos, in sight of Nagasaki. Every conceivable delay appears to have been thrown in the way of the embassy in conducting its negotiations with the Japanese authorities, who endeavoured to get the Portuguese vessels into their power. This attempt was, however, frustrated by the astuteness of the secretary to the ambassador.

On the morning of the 15th August, it was discovered that a bridge of boats had been thrown across the straits, in front of the Portuguese vessels, with the view of hindering their retreat. On this bridge the Japanese had erected ten castles, some of which were armed by artillery, and about 2,000 vessels also appeared on either side of it. A letter from the Emperor was now delivered to the ambassador, reminding him of the prohibition against Christians going to Japan, and calling upon him immediately to retire.

The ambassador, before complying with this demand,

enquired whether, if his King promised to refrain from preaching the Christian religion in Japan, the Emperor would then agree to terms of friendship, to which His Majesty replied that every moment he more and more prohibited any intercourse between his country and the Portuguese. After several other fruitless attempts by the ambassador to come to terms, he was ordered to leave, and, accordingly, on one day the bridge of boats was opened and the ambassador retired, without having accomplished anything, and returned to Macao.

The trade of Macao must at this time have been in a very languishing state, since, on the appointment of General of that colony being conferred upon Dom Braz de Castro, in March, 1648, he declined to go there, on the grounds that the city was completely impoverished, and the people in a state of revolution, they having recently murdered their late Governor in the streets. He considered it useless to go there without either men or money, and neither of these was forthcoming, since the Viceroy excused himself from sending any force there, on the plea that the Dutch might consider it a rupture of the armistice.

In 1649 the Viceroy reported that commerce was beginning to be opened from Macao with the Tartars,* who

* The incursion of the Tartars into China here referred to was the insurrection of the Mantchous against the Chinese Emperor, which took place at the commencement of the seventeenth century. In the wars that followed it is reported that on one occasion the Chinese Emperor employed Portuguese artillerymen whom he had brought from Canton. In 1638 there appeared in the field eight several armies, or corps of insurgents, raised in different provinces by chiefs, each of whom usurped the title of King; two of these subsequently agreed to divide the country between them, and one of them marched upon Pekin, which he captured after a siege of three days, whereupon the Emperor hanged himself in despair, and with him ended the dynasty of the Mings. This occurred in 1643. The conqueror of Pekin did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of his victory, for he was shortly afterwards defeated by the Mantchou Prince Chin-che, who made a triumphant entry into that city and had himself proclaimed Emperor. Two of the sons of the last Ming Emperor were decapitated by the conqueror, but the third son escaped, and having fled to Nankin was proclaimed Emperor there; he was, however, soon afterwards captured and strangled by the Mantchou invaders. Two other blood relatives of the late Ming Emperor were subsequently proclaimed Emperors by the two provinces, Tche-Kiang and Fokien respectively. These were, however, speedily subdued, and on the capture of Canton by the Tartars, on the 26th November, 1650, the Mantchou dynasty was firmly established in China.

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1646-47. had captured Chinese provinces down to Canton, when it was put a stop to by a native of the Chinese dynasty appearing, who was immediately recognised by seven provinces. War ensued, accompanied by a plague, which in Macao alone killed 7,000 persons, mostly Chinese, and this effectually put an end to commerce there for a time.

The King of Portugal sent out orders in cipher to the Viceroy in February, 1646, to the effect that the native Kings in India should be induced to fight against the Dutch. The Viceroy in reply stated that the Dutch were already doing the Portuguese as much harm as they could in spite of the armistice, and that he had dispatched envoys to the several native Kings for the purpose suggested with the following results: The Materan (Java) replied that if an opportunity offered he would be very glad to fight the Dutch; the King of Bantam had made peace with the Dutch for so long as the latter remained on terms of peace with the Portuguese. The King of Maccassar was on good terms with the Portuguese, and although he was at peace and had transactions with the Dutch, this was more through fear than desire. The King of Camboja had turned the Dutch out, as had also the authorities at the port of Chinchew in China. From the latter they used to get silk for Japan, but they could now no longer obtain it from thence, and they were keeping up their trade in Japan with leather and other goods they obtained from Siam. An ambassador was also sent to the Kings of Achin and Johore, the latter of whom was engaged in war with Malacca, and so injuring the Dutch trade there. The King of Kandy had, it was reported, fallen out with the Dutch, and had taken and beheaded more than 500 of their men.* The Viceroy was reticent on the subject

* The above statement, taken from Portuguese authorities, most probably refers to the fact that Raja Singha, hopeless of liberating his country from the Dutch and Portuguese, and seeing his best chance of safety in their mutual rivalry, not only persevered in infesting the territories of each by desultory attacks, but contrived with success to embroil them in hostilities by passing through the possessions of one to attack the subjects of the other.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 1646-49.

that the King of Kandy was equally hostile to the Portuguese as to the Dutch.

In 1646 the King of the Maldive Islands signed a Treaty of Vassalage to the King of Portugal. No copy of this treaty appears to have been preserved, but there is in existence a letter from the King of the Maldives, dated 5th May, 1643, in which it is stated that, under an agreement of former years, he was bound to deliver to the Viceroy one-third of the coir fibre which he received as tribute.

It appears that, in 1648, the Naik turned the Dutch out of Pattanam,* where they had established a factory, and the Captain-General, on leaving the place, threatened the Portuguese that they would, eventually, have to settle with him for this matter. Accordingly, on the 7th February, 1649, there appeared off Manapad a fleet of ten Dutch vessels, under the command of J. Maetsuycker, Governor of Galle. Two days afterwards they arrived off Pattanam, and disembarked some Dutch and Cingalese infantry near the Pagoda of Trickendur, which they captured with the cattle it contained, and fortified and armed it with artillery.

As soon as the inhabitants of Tuticorin were informed of the arrival of the Dutch, they sent messengers to protest, in the name of the King of Portugal, against their proceedings; these, however, were received by the Dutch commander with contempt and threats of hostilities. On the 12th February the Dutch marched upon the town, which they entered without resistance, and disarmed all the Portuguese they met with. The Dutch then alleged, as being a well-known fact, that their factor had been turned out of Pattanam by the intrigues of the Paravas †

About the time above referred to he marched through the Portuguese territory to reach the fort of Negumbo, made prisoners of the garrison, and sent the heads of their officers rolled in silk to the Dutch Commandant at Galle.

* This place is not to be found on the modern maps. It is probably represented there by Caylpatnam, between Tuticorin and Manapad, where the Dutch once had a factory.

† Inhabitants of the fishing coast.

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1648-49.

with the native King, but stated that they would limit their revenge to laying a forced contribution of 40,000 patacas,* and they threatened that if this were not paid immediately, they would build a fortress in Tuticorin so as to enable them to hold the town and dominate the remainder of the coast.

The money not being forthcoming at the end of three days, the Dutch sacked the town and burnt a part of it. They then reduced their demand to 20,000 patacas, and subsequently to 15,000; but being unable to force this latter amount from the people, they finally contented themselves with removing everything of value they could lay hands on, and they then compelled the Portuguese monks to sign a paper, binding themselves to make the Paravas pay the money. Having done this they again fired the place, and then retired to their vessels, taking with them nearly all the fishing boats belonging to the inhabitants, for the conveyance of the spoil they had captured. They then retired from before Pattanam on the 13th February.

About this time the Genoese appear to have made an attempt to recover a portion, at least, of the Indo-European trade, of whose expedition the following account appears in the Portuguese records.

In the year 1648, some private Genoese and other merchants, under Letters Patent from the Duke and Senate of that city, equipped two large ships, the "St. John the Baptist" and the "St. Bernard," for the purpose, as they gave out, of discovering new lands uninhabited, or unexplored by European commerce, and also to take advantage of the Eastern commerce in a way not offensive to other nations engaged therein. This enterprise was started at the instance of William Mulman, of Amsterdam, whose brother, Henry Mulman, was then Dutch Consul at Genoa. The company consisted of thirty persons, some

* A term formerly much in use for a dollar, or piece of eight.

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of whom were Genoese and the rest foreigners. Two men were sent from Amsterdam, one to act as chief pilot and the other as chief factor. The two vessels were bought at Amsterdam, and were built on the same lines as those of the Dutch East India Company. They went from that port equipped with provisions, arms, and artillery for three years. Their cargoes consisted of knives, guns, gun-metal, and other articles useful for barter with the natives. The two Dutchmen above referred to were engaged on the terms of receiving one-fifth of the profits.

The ships sailed from Genoa on the 3rd March, 1648; they put in at Alicante and Malaga, where they purchased wine, and passing the Straits of Gibraltar they took in salt at Cape de Verde, and water and wood at Sierra Leone. At the port of Antongil, in the island of S. Lourenço (Madagascar), they stayed a month to recruit, and there the chief factor died on board the "St. Bernard," the captain of which refused to obey the orders of the other Dutchmen, who therefore prepared to reduce him to obedience by force of arms; some Genoese gentlemen on the other vessel, however, intervened, and going on board the "St. Bernard," persuaded the captain to go on board the "St. John the Baptist" and discuss the matter. He did so, and was immediately put in irons, whilst those who had sided with him in this affair were also severely punished. The vessels then continued their voyage in the direction of Goa, but were driven by stress of weather into the port of Ticos, on the coast of Java. Here the Dutchman endeavoured to take in pepper to sell in China, and made an arrangement with the Governor of the country for the supply of a cargo, but was hindered in the transaction by the Malays, who accused him of being English and of carrying false money. The Dutchman settled the matter by taking the pepper without paying for it. The vessels then put into Felida to repair, where they stayed a month, and so gave an opportunity for the

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Malays they had robbed to complain to the Dutch general at Batavia, who immediately sent out eight vessels, which captured the Genoese ships in the Straits of Sunda, and took them to Batavia. All Dutch subjects on board were taken ashore and imprisoned, whilst the Genoese were forced to sell their merchandise, and their vessels which they could no longer navigate.

On the 16th August, 1648, the Arabs under Saide Ben Califa besieged Muscat. The place held out until the 11th September, on which date the Council there decided at a meeting that an attempt should be made to negotiate a Treaty of Peace with the assailants, as the garrison had expended nearly all their ammunition. Advances were made to that end, but the conditions proposed by the Arabs were that Kuriyat and the fortress of Dobar should be surrendered and razed to the ground; that the new fortress built by the Arabs at Matera should be recognised; that the merchants of the highlands should not pay duty at the Custom House at Muscat; that the wall of Muscat should be razed to the ground; and that the expenses of the war, amounting to 200,000 pardaos, should be paid by the Imaum. The Council declined to accede to the terms, and the siege accordingly continued until, disheartened by the fact that the hills of Mocala had been surrendered to the Arabs without a struggle, the plague being rife in Muscat, with a mortality of fifty a day, and the ammunition being completely exhausted, the Captain-General, on the 31st October, concluded negotiations with the Arab Captain, and the siege was raised. The terms of capitulation agreed to were as follows:—

That the Portuguese should raze to the ground the fortresses of Kuriyat, Dobar, and Matera, and that the Imaum should similarly destroy the Arab fortress at the latter place; that Matera should belong to neither, and both parties were to be free to take away their artillery and baggage; that the Imaum's vessels should navigate outwards without reserve, and on the homeward voyage with

passports from the King of Portugal; that the vassals of the Imaum should pay no duties, either personal or upon merchandise, entering or leaving Muscat; that commerce should be entirely and unrestrictedly free; that the Arabs should take down any fortifications erected during the siege, and that the Portuguese should bind themselves not to raise anything on the site of the demolished fortifications.

Commenting upon these terms, in a letter of the 16th March, 1650, the King ordered enquiries to be made regarding the conduct of Dom Julião de Noronha, Captain-General, and of the Vedor of the Finances of Muscat, for having made arrangements with the Arabs fifteen days before the arrival of relief sent by the Viceroy. They were both accordingly made prisoners and sent to Goa.

In letters from the King, of the 11th and 16th January, 1649, reviewing the position of affairs in the Persian Gulf, his Majesty complained of a want of more vessels and sailors in Muscat, since no assistance could then be obtained from Sohar and Caurusar, as those places had been lost. Every effort was to be made to retain Muscat, and as Sohar, Dobar, and Kuriyat were now no longer in the possession of the Portuguese, an endeavour was to be made to open a port at Bandaly, in Persia, a short distance from Comorão. The fortress of Cassapo, being in danger from the enemy, was to be strengthened. A great danger to Muscat, which his Majesty pointed out, was having Sheiks and Moors living inside the walls of the town, as they only acted as spies to inform the enemy of the condition of the Portuguese there.

On the 18th January, 1650, the Viceroy received a letter from Diu, informing him that a vessel had arrived there with 700 persons from Muscat, sent by the Captain-General of that town, because the Arabs had entered it at night, killing a large number of people who had offered no resistance, no guard having been kept, although for some time past it had been besieged by the Arabs. This

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turned out to be true, and it appears that, being hard pressed, the General retired to the fort commanding the town, leaving all the provisions, munitions, and arms in the factory, although his orders had been to keep depôts in both places. The Viceroy immediately ordered off a fleet to the relief, but when it arrived it was found that the fort had been surrendered on the 23rd, and the factory on the 26th, January to a very small force of Arabs. The Arabs in the Portuguese service fought, it is stated, with great bravery, but it was alleged that the surrender of Muscat must have been predetermined by the Captain-General, the fleet also that was there fled to Diu without making the least attempt to recover the place. It was at this time that vessels were sent to Persia to endeavour to obtain Ormuz, or some other situation on the Persian coast, and to procure the assistance of Persia against the Arabs. As a result of an enquiry instituted relative to the loss of Muscat, Braz Caldeira de Mattos, the Captain of the fleet, had fled to Cochin, where he was in hiding in native territory. Having been found guilty he would have been sentenced to capital punishment, but being a cavalheiro of a military order, he was beyond the jurisdiction of the Viceroy.

After the fall of Muscat, the Viceroy sent seven galliots to the Straits of Ormuz. These went first to Sind and Kongo, at which latter place they took in provisions and then proceeded to El Katiff. The fleet then appears to have visited the Khan of Lara, with the view of obtaining from him a cession of Ormuz or of Larack. As soon as they had left Kongo, the Arabs arrived there with a large fleet and captured three patachos off that place, having first fought and captured a vessel which had got separated from the fleet. Shortly afterwards the Arabs captured more merchant vessels; and, in consequence of these losses, the reputation of the Portuguese fell considerably in the estimation of the neighbouring Kings. It was accordingly felt to be of the first importance to send a

strong fleet to destroy the Arab vessels in the Persian Gulf. Persia had offered a site to the Portuguese for a fortification on the island of Angao, if a fleet of six vessels were sent to occupy it; but the Viceroy hoped that if a larger fleet were sent he would gain a more advantageous site, such as Cassapo.

By the loss of Muscat the Portuguese were deprived of their last stronghold in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf. During the preceding half century Portugal had not only been engaged in incessant wars with the Dutch in India, but she had at the same time to protect her interests in the Brazils against these and other rivals. Almost immediately after Portugal had passed under the Crown of Spain, English adventurers organised expeditions against the Brazils, and these were followed in 1612 by the French. In 1624 the Dutch East India Company dispatched a fleet against Bahia, and from that date they waged continual war against the Portuguese in the Brazils up to 1654, when, after a series of sanguinary encounters, the latter succeeded in re-establishing their supremacy in those parts. In these struggles in South America and in the East, Portugal had been drained of both men and money. Trade had necessarily languished considerably and become almost extinguished. Not being possessed of territories in the neighbourhood of their forts and factories to yield revenues sufficient for their necessities, other and special means had to be adopted in order to raise funds to meet the expenses of the administration and for carrying on their numerous wars.

In 1621 the one per cent. tax, which had been originally levied for ecclesiastical purposes, was appropriated for the service of the State; and shortly afterwards, during the Viceroyalty of Dom Francisco da Gama (1622 to 1627), a two per cent. consular duty was levied at certain ports, with the view of raising a fund for the equipment of a fleet to turn the Dutch out of India. Letters of marque were also issued to private persons, authorising them to

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1650.

equip vessels to prey upon the Dutch ships, as the Government had not the means to provide them in sufficient quantities. As an additional means of raising funds for carrying on the administration of the State in India, the most important appointments were put up to auction and sold to the highest bidders; an additional one per cent. consulate was levied at various ports in order to provide artillery for the forts; and the profits of special voyages were also appropriated to the repair of the fortresses. The wealth of the convents of India had already been appropriated by the Government and absorbed in the general expenses of the State, and thus at the termination of the Viceroyalty of Dom Filippe Mascarenhas the administration of the Portuguese Eastern possessions was involved in very considerable difficulties.

The Parliamentary fleet about this time (1650) caused the Portuguese great trouble, and prevented them from sending relief from Lisbon to the Brazils, where they were at war with the Dutch. The Portuguese Government entertained great anxiety for the near future, in consequence of the fact that the armistice, concluded with the Dutch in 1641, would expire in June 1651, and, judging from the manner in which they had persistently evaded the fulfilment of its conditions, there did appear to be good grounds for apprehension as to what would be their course of action as soon as that armistice had come to an end. At this time the Portuguese were on good terms with the English, but felt it necessary to take but little cognizance of their successful competition with them in trade, and otherwise to bear themselves with the greatest circumspection, avoiding carefully any appearance of warlike measures.

In addressing the Viceroy on the subject of the Parliamentary* fleet, the King of Portugal remarked (11th

* The following particulars relative to this subject, taken from *A History of England from the First Invasion of the Romans*, by John Lingard, D.D., will be of interest:—

"From the conquest of Ireland and

November, 1650) that the excesses perpetrated by it had increased very much. The fleet had, however, then retired from Lisbon, and the Princes Robert and Maurice had also left. To put a stop to the existing feeling between the two kingdoms, the King had resolved to send João de Guimarães to London as ambassador, with instructions to use every effort to place matters on a friendly footing.

One important evidence of the decay of the Portuguese power in India is the fact that, at this date (1651), the King of Golconda and the Nabob Mirzi Mula had ceased to ask them for passports for their vessels. One reason of the desire of the Portuguese not to quarrel with the English, given about this time, was the fact that they were

Scotland we may turn to the transactions between the Commonwealth and foreign powers. The King of Portugal was the first who provoked its anger, and felt its vengeance. At an early period in 1649, Prince Rupert, with a fleet which had revolted from the Parliament to the late King, sailed from the Texel, swept the Irish Channel, and inflicted severe injuries on the English commerce. Vane, to whose industry had been committed the care of the naval department, made every exertion to equip a formidable armament, the command of which was given to three military officers, Blake, Dean, and Popham. Rupert retired before this superior force to the harbour of Kinsale; the batteries kept his enemies at bay, and the Irish supplied him with men and provisions. At length the victories of Cromwell by land admonished him to quit his asylum; and with the loss of three ships he burst through the blockading squadron, sailed to the coast of Spain, and during the winter months sought shelter in the waters of the Tagus. In Spring (1650) Blake appeared with eighteen men of war at the mouth of the river; to his request that he might be allowed to attack the pirate at his anchorage, he received from the King of Portugal a peremptory refusal; and in his attempt to force his way up the river was driven back by the fire from the batteries. In obedience to his instructions he revenged himself on the Portuguese trade, and Dom João, by way of reprisal, arrested the English merchants, and took possession of their effects. Alarmed, however, by the losses of his subjects, he compelled Rupert to quit the Tagus, and despatched an envoy, named Guimarães, to solicit an accommodation. . . . . Guimarães subscribed to the preliminaries demanded by the Council, that the English merchants arrested in Portugal should be set at liberty; that they should receive an indemnification for their losses; and that the King of Portugal should pay a sum of money towards the charges of the English fleet; but he protracted the negotiation by disputing dates and details, and was haughtily commanded to quit the territory of the Commonwealth. Humbling as it was to Dom João, he had no resource; the Conde de Camera was sent, with the title of Ambassador Extraordinary; he assented to every demand, but the progress of the treaty was interrupted by the usurpation of Cromwell, and another year elapsed before it was concluded. By it valuable privileges were granted to the English traders; four Commissioners, two English and two Portuguese, were appointed to settle all claims against the Portuguese Government."

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1651-52.

dependent on the President at Surat for obtaining ropes and tar for the equipment of their fleets, which, owing to the absence of money, they were obliged to pay for with cinnamon. Mangalor was now reported to be in a dangerous state, owing to the decay of its fortifications and to the fact that all the surrounding country was in the possession of the King of Kanara. All the Portuguese fortresses in Kanara were in a similar state, but as none of them possessed any commerce it was impossible to repair them.

The administration of Dom Filippe Mascarenhas was now drawing to an end. The Conde de Aveiras had for a second time been appointed Viceroy of India, and was on his way out to Goa when he died. As soon as the news of his death reached India, Dom Filippe had the first Patent of Succession opened, which appears to have contained three names for the joint occupancy of the office; these were Dom Francisco dos Martyres, Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, and Francisco de Mello de Castro. Dom Filippe handed over the Government to the first and third named in the Patent on the 31st of May, 1651. The second one named, Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, was at the time absent from Goa, filling the appointment of Captain at Daman; but on receiving intelligence of his promotion he proceeded to Goa and joined the other two administrators on the 8th December following.

These held office only for a short time, but they missed an opportunity of distinguishing their administration owing to the behaviour of the Commander of a fleet they sent to the Persian Gulf early in the following year. This fleet entered the Straits of Ormuz on the 16th March, 1652, and when off Muscat it encountered an Arab armada, which took up a position under the guns of that fortress. It was alleged that the Portuguese might then have easily destroyed the Arab vessels and have probably even recaptured Muscat, but the captain seems to have shirked an encounter, and to have thus lost the chance of

re-establishing the Portuguese power in the Persian Gulf, which never again appears to have presented itself to the representatives of that race which had, for so many years, been the paramount ruler in those waters.

On the death of the Conde de Aveiras, Dom Vasco Mascarenhas, Conde de Obidos, was nominated to succeed him. His appointment was dated the 19th January, 1652, and he left Lisbon for India on the 25th March following. He arrived at Goa on the 3rd September, and took possession of the government on the 6th *idem*.

At this time the Portuguese were engaged in war with a native chief in Kanara. It appears that on the 14th June, 1652, the fort of Cambolin was attacked by Seva Panaique.* Barcelor having surrendered to his arms, he was able to send reinforcements to Cambolin, to the extent of 8,000 men and ten pieces of artillery, and a regular siege of that fort was commenced on the 6th September. Onor and Mangalor were also invested by the enemy, and one of the first acts the new Viceroy was called upon to perform was to send reinforcements to those places. During the siege of Cambolin, a Portuguese fleet arrived there on the 25th October, and fought with the enemy, but it appears to have been repulsed with the loss of some vessels. Thirty-five days later another Portuguese fleet arrived, which, however, retired after doing some damage to the enemy. On the 15th January, 1653, a third fleet arrived, but it appears to have caused little loss to the enemy, since two days later the garrison withdrew, and went on board the fleet, taking with them all they could carry, and leaving the fortress entirely dismantled.

During the siege seventy Portuguese were killed; but all the circumstances attending the abandonment of the place appeared so peculiar that an inquiry was instituted into the matter, which only resulted in the conclusion that the fortress was not in a defensible state. On this

* This was, no doubt, Shivappa Naik, a Bednur chief, who, between 1648 and 1670, added to his dominions the whole of South Kanara, and North Kanara up to the Gangavali river.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 1653-54.

point, however, there appears to have been some difference of opinion, and one witness went so far as to attribute the surrender to the action of the commander of the last relief, and he expressed a strong opinion that the fortress could have been defended for some time longer. The Viceroy, in summing up the evidence, came to the conclusion that the fortress was not in a defensible state, and he added that most of the other Portuguese fortresses in India were in a similar condition.

The Conde de Obidos was not long left to carry on the administration of India. He was a man endowed with many excellent qualities, and would probably have distinguished himself in his capacity as Viceroy, but in the year 1653 a seditious movement against him was set on foot by Dom Braz de Castro, who, with those who joined him in the revolt, deposed the Viceroy on the 22nd October, 1653, whereupon Dom Braz de Castro took forcible possession of the reins of government, which he held for nearly two years, until he was apprehended, together with some of his followers, in 1655.

During his usurpation of the office of Governor of India, the difficulties that had for some time been gathering for the Portuguese, tended to increase rather than to diminish. In 1654 proposals passed between the English and Portuguese for a union of interests, with the view of driving the Dutch out of India. Circumstances at the time prevented the carrying out of this project, but it having come to the knowledge of the Dutch, they sent a fleet to await the arrival of the English vessels from Persia, which they met and defeated off Sind. Although not immediately connected with the subject matter of the present work, an account of this engagement will be of interest. It was as follows :—

Some time in December, 1653, the English ships "Falcon," "Dove," and "Welcome," sailed from Diu, under orders to proceed to Gombroon to convoy back the "Endeavour," then at that port, and also to take up lading

at Sind and Rajapore. They reached the Gulf of Persia in safety, and found there two Dutch ships, which they engaged during the night for some hours. The English sailors, however, are stated to have had but little inclination for the fight, and at daybreak the English, though superior in force, bore away to Ormuz to join the "Endeavour," followed by the Dutch. Both fleets then anchored in Gombroon Roads, and remained there two days, after which the English left the Dutch vessels riding there, and sailed away to Sind. On reaching that port, however, on the 29th January, 1654, they found there five of the enemy's vessels, which at once weighed and encountered them. M. Tavernier, who was on board one of the vessels, gives the following account of the fight :—

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1654.

"The Dutch admiral, with the first broadside of the 'Welcome,' who had brought twenty-one pieces of ordnance on that side, was happily laid by the lee, and did no service all the fight after. The 'Falcon' as unhappily run stemlings on board her the said admiral, but was soon cleared of her again, when presently she fell foul of another Dutch ship that lay astern of the admiral, and by that means lost her foremast. The 'Falcon' was entered by the Dutch out of this ship, which was a laden ship, inferior to the 'Falcon' both in ordnance and number of men. They were aboard each other above an hour. The Dutch cleared themselves of the 'Falcon' not without considerable loss, and the 'Falcon' being clear of her and all other ships, a strange fear possessed them that their ship was on fire, and therefore would needs yield her up to the enemy, and shift for themselves in their boats, which they did and would not be persuaded to the contrary; though some that they left aboard and abhorred so cowardly an action endeavoured by all means they could. Above sixty able men that had not received the least hurt in the world run away in their boats, one of which boats went to the Dutch Admiral, as she lay by the lee, and they would not take them in, so were forced to row to another ship; the

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1654.

other boat got aboard the 'Welcome,' who how she had bestowed her time all this while of the 'Falcon's' encounter we cannot learn, but only she kept to windward, and was unwilling to come and help the 'Falcon' when the Dutch was on board him, lest in firing at the one he should hurt the other. Mr. Hargreave with the boatswain of the 'Falcon,' and about ten well and wounded, were left aboard the ship, whom those that got aboard the 'Welcome' desired they might be fetched off; which Mr. Walterer was endeavouring to do, but his men would not suffer him to bear to leeward, or send a boat; but thought they had done enough in preserving themselves, and so bore away after the 'Dove,' who had the discretion to keep herself out of harm's way after the first coming up of the Dutch ships, being once got out of shot, scarce came within reach of a gun again, but so well preserved herself that she had not a man slain or hurt. The 'Welcome' lost one and no other hurt. The 'Endeavour' did best of any of them, for she not going well by a wind was soon put to leeward of the Dutch, not having any to second her, and was encountered by two of the second best ships the Dutch had, with whom she maintained the fight, till she had received so many shot under and between wind and water, that she was ready to sink before she surrendered, for the Dutch coming aboard her, before they could get anything out of her, or their own people again, she sunk down, and with her ten English and eleven or thirteen Dutchmen, and all perished, but in this time they were got above a league to leeward of the rest of the ships, nor did those two ships engage any ship in the fight only the 'Endeavour.' Nor came they up with the admiral again till within night, who a little before had made sail again, and stood after them that were running away as fast as they could, which had not God taken away their hearts might in all probability have had the day of the Dutch, for they were also very glad they were rid of them, as we were credibly informed by some, that was on board them,

and especially from Monsieur Tavernier, who in brief gives this relation. Never was fight worse managed on both sides, the Dutch were most of them drunk, and knew not what they did, the English I think were little better, if not worse; they would never else have lost such an opportunity." CHAP. XI. A.D. 1654.

The "Welcome" and "Dove" reached Surat the 5th February, 1653-4. Two days later, two of the Dutch ships came in, "and brought the 'Falcon' in triumph with them, and about eighty of our men prisoners, to our no little dishonour."

The Portuguese having then prepared their fleet, ten vessels were sent to Ceylon, which arrived at Colombo on the 23rd March. Off the bar of that city they found three large Dutch vessels, which they fought. The Dutch flagship, when almost on the point of sinking, managed to escape, and was run ashore near Negumbo. The second Dutch vessel was also run ashore, but the third one succeeded in getting safely into Negumbo harbour. After this, the Portuguese vessels were ordered to blockade Galle, whilst the troops besieged it by land. On their way to Galle, the Portuguese troops were met by a Dutch force from Caliture, where they had a strongly fortified position, and an encounter took place in which the latter lost 200 men, and were obliged to abandon their position at Caliture, which was at once taken possession of by the Portuguese. The Dutch force then retired upon Galle, destroying the roads and bridges behind them, but the Portuguese remained satisfied with the success they had already obtained, and failed to follow it up by a pursuit of the enemy.

Soon after this, a large fleet of Portuguese merchantmen was sent from Colombo, accompanied by a very weak convoy. This was met by eleven Dutch vessels, under Admiral Rijhloff van Goens on his way from Persia and Surat, which attacked them off Achra, and forty of the Portuguese vessels were either burnt or run ashore.

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A.D. 1654.

On the 2nd May a Dutch fleet appeared off the bar of Goa, whereupon an engagement ensued with some Portuguese vessels, in which one on either side went ashore and was burnt. The Dutch fleet then appears to have retired in a southerly direction, and when off Ankola they met with some more Portuguese vessels, and several indecisive engagements took place in which both sides suffered severely. The Dutch fleet then retired to Negumbo and reinforced the garrison there with 200 men.

In this year also (1654) after eighty-seven years of peace, Adil Khan marched against Bardes and Goa with an army of 5,000 men, arriving in Portuguese territory on the 12th August, on which day there was an eclipse of the sun. In the Residency of Tevy (probably Tevim, in Bardes) he found a few Portuguese without either food or arms, who retired into the church at his approach, but afterwards surrendered at discretion. In the small fortress at that place there were twenty-five soldiers, who defended themselves with great valour. Every effort was made at Goa to send a force as soon as possible to stop the advance of the enemy; but it was only on the 14th that 300 men could be got together at Panjim, from whence they marched against the invaders, and, after a severe fight, forced them to retire. This small force was, however, too exhausted to follow up their advantage. Later on, in October, the Adil Shah invaded Salsette with 7,000 foot and 800 horsemen, taking Sarzora in spite of some resistance. On the 3rd October he surrounded Cutuly with his entire force, and after three days' fighting it surrendered. News having reached the Adil Shah that the Portuguese General was collecting forces at Rachol, all his troops were ordered to return to Vizapore with their prisoners and spoil, and a peace was subsequently concluded between the Adil Shah and the Portuguese. On account of this invasion the Portuguese were forced to raise the siege of Onor.

In order to draw off the Dutch forces from their own

possessions, the Portuguese this year sent assistance to the King of Macassar against the Dutch, and added also some vessels to the fleet of the Mataran, and with them assisted in blockading Jacatra.

In November, a Dutch fleet appeared before Colombo and besieged that fort for fifteen days, being aided in the attack by a land force. They managed to get a vessel into the bay during the night, but it ran aground on the day when the attack was to have been made (12th November) and was taken. The walls of the fort were assaulted repeatedly during two days, but on each occasion the enemy were repulsed with considerable loss; one John Flass, who had been in anticipation nominated General of Colombo, being amongst the slain.

With the view of recovering Caliture, the Dutch collected a considerable force, and having crossed the river on the morning of the 10th December, they attacked the Portuguese, who had fortified themselves on the other side. In the engagement the Dutch had at first the advantage, but they were subsequently repulsed, and had to retire to Galle with the loss of many men.

A treaty of peace was concluded between the English and Portuguese on the 10th July, 1654, under which the former were to enjoy the privileges of trade with all the ports in the Portuguese dominions in the East Indies, Guinea, the island of St. Thomas and other parts of Africa, but no mention is therein made of any permission to trade at Macao.

The year 1655 saw an end, for the time being, of hostilities with the Adil Khan, and a treaty was concluded with him by the Portuguese on the 7th March. On the 3rd December, an ambassador arrived at Goa and presented a letter to Dom Braz de Castro, accompanied by some robes of Royal Orders, and other valuable presents. The Adil Khan admitted that he had declared war against the Portuguese without any sufficient cause, and that he had thereby impeded trade and had caused certain ports

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1654-55. to be closed to commerce; that his captains had entered the territories of Bardes and Salsette, but had since been withdrawn, and that orders had now been promulgated for the several ports to be opened, and for traders to be allowed to pass from place to place as they had formerly been able to do without molestation. Upon this explanation Dom Braz de Castro agreed to ratify anew the treaties of the 29th January, 1582, and the 3rd April, 1633, and the ambassador having, in the name of the Adil Khan, sworn to keep the peace, Dom Braz gave a similar undertaking on behalf of his Majesty the King of Portugal and his heirs.

Dom Rodrigo Sobo da Silveira, Conde de Sarzedos, left Lisbon on the 23rd March, 1655, and arrived at Marmagão on the 19th August following. On the 23rd August he assumed the Government of India as though it had been vacant, and having taken the necessary steps for putting an end to the sedition which had deposed Dom Vasco Mascarenhas, he apprehended Dom Braz de Castro, together with some of his principal adherents.

Upon retiring from Caliture, the Dutch went with their troops and ships to Negumbo, but the losses inflicted upon the Portuguese shipping by Admiral van Goens prevented the Viceroy from sending the reinforcements that were now so much needed in Ceylon. The Dutch army, however, does not appear to have been very active. In July, 1654, they occupied Bentota, opposite to Aliçaon, and had a skirmish with the Portuguese on the 11th of the following month without any practical result to either side, but in the encounter the Portuguese lost thirty of their own men and some blacks.

On the 13th September the Dutch received a reinforcement of three ships with victuals and fifty soldiers, and on the 4th September, a yacht arrived with fifty-four additional troops. The garrison at Galle was then strengthened by the addition of 150 men from the fleet, after which a strong force proceeded to Bentota. On the 16th December

a force of 690 men, comprising officers, soldiers, sailors, Javanese, and Cingalese, crossed the river Aliçaon in twenty catamarans (Indian boats), and shortly after landing they came upon a Portuguese force of about 300 men, amongst whom were some Topasses and Cingalese. The Portuguese fought bravely, and having put the Cingalese who were with the Dutch to flight, they forced the Dutch commander, Van der Laan, to retire with ten companies of troops; the latter, however, rallied his men, and returning to the attack forced the Portuguese to retreat. The engagement continued until the evening, when the Dutch remained masters of the field, the Portuguese having lost sixty men killed, and their cannon, which were taken by the enemy.

The Portuguese then fell back upon Malvani and Colombo, whereupon Raja Singha occupied with his forces the territories that had been thus relinquished. As the Dutch made now no attack on Calituré, the Portuguese commander marched against Raja Singha's troops, in March, 1655, and defeated them, driving them back to Kandy, whither they retired, laying waste the country behind them. Raja Singha thereupon gathered together a large force, taking the command of it in person, and advanced against the Portuguese, but received a decisive defeat, on the 5th April, from a Portuguese force under the command of the Moor, Gaspar Figeiro, whereupon he withdrew his army again to Kandy.

On the 18th of the following month, Antonio de Sousa Coutinho arrived near Galle with eight frigates and 500 soldiers, on his way to Colombo to assume the command. Here he was encountered by a Dutch fleet, which captured two of the vessels and drove two others on shore; the rest of the Portuguese fleet sailed round the north of the island, and having taken in reinforcements at Manar and Jafanapatam, it arrived at Colombo on the 7th August. From thence Antonio de Sousa threw a reinforcement of 300 soldiers, Portuguese and natives, into Calituré.

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Shortly after this Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira, the new Viceroy, arrived at Colombo with three galleons and a yacht; and the Dutch, about the same time, received reinforcements at Bentota to the number of 590 men. A part of this force was sent towards Caliture with the view of preventing the Portuguese from receiving any reinforcements or supplies at that fort. The remainder of the force at Bentota followed shortly afterwards, bringing with them the necessary appliances for a siege.

On the 29th September the Portuguese garrison of Caliture hoisted the "blood-flag,"* whereupon the Dutch commander placed men to watch all the entrances to the fort, and sent to the ships for ammunition, &c. On the 5th October news reached the besieging force that there were only 300 men in the fort, and that they were already running short of provisions and had been placed on a strict allowance of only one meal a day. The garrison, they were informed, could not hold out more than ten days, but they would probably make a vigorous defence, as Gaspar Figeiro was daily expected to come with a force to their relief.

The siege batteries being completed, they were armed with heavy guns on the 11th and 12th October, forces were placed in different directions, guarding all the passes, so as to prevent the possibility of the garrison escaping, and everything was in readiness for the attack, when, on the morning of the 14th, Antonio Mendes de Arunha sent a letter to the Dutch commander, proposing an armistice, and offering to surrender the place on conditions to be thereafter settled. The latter accepted these proposals, and at once sent a letter to the Royal Dessaye requesting him to spread a report to the effect that the Portuguese in Caliture had received relief both in men and provisions,

* The hoisting of the "blood-flag" appears to have been customary, both on land and at sea, previously to an engagement, and was equivalent to a challenge on the part of the one side to the other. This was usually replied to by the other side hoisting a similar flag, whereupon the engagement commenced.

with the view of keeping Gaspar Figeiro at Montapelle, where he then was, until the conclusion of negotiations and the surrender of the fortress.

The conditions agreed to were that the officers and soldiers should leave the fort with their ensigns, with which they were to salute the Dutch flag. The principal Portuguese officers, inclusive of the captains, were to be sent to Goa, and the other officers and soldiers to Batavia, whence they were to be conveyed, at the cost of the Dutch company, to Portugal. The officers and soldiers were to be permitted to take all their property away with them, as well as the ornaments of their church. The married inhabitants were to be taken to Colombo or elsewhere, as they might desire, and all the priests were to retire to Goa.

The fortress of Caliture was occupied by the Dutch on the 15th October. It was garrisoned by one company, and the rest of the army, on leaving, came in contact with the van of the Portuguese army and forced it to retire. The latter then fell back upon their main body under Gaspar Figeiro, advancing from Colombo. The Dutch troops followed, and another engagement took place on Sunday, the 17th October, near Pantura, when the Portuguese suffered another defeat and were pursued as far as the church of Nassa Senhora de Milagres. Next day a further encounter took place between the two forces near Mutuwal, with a similar result as before. The Portuguese left twenty-two dead on the field, and Gaspar Figeiro then retired to Colombo, taking with him only 160 of the 650 men who had but a few days previously set out with him; many had been killed, including all the veteran troops of Figeiro's army, but a number of the recruits deserted and fled to the woods. Mutuwal was then occupied by the enemy. The Dutch troops were led by Van der Laan, who put to the sword all the Portuguese he met with, and is stated to have remarked that "if God had put into his hands the life of all the Portuguese he would have cut off that life with one blow."

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The Portuguese now hastened to place Colombo in a state of defence against the enemy, and the following commands were appointed: On the bulwarks of "S. João," Manoel Correa de Barros; at "S. Sebastião," Francisco Fialho; at "Madre de Deos," João de Paiva de Quintal; at "Conceição," Domingos Peixoto; at "S. Hieronymos," Affonso Carvalho de Souza; at "S. Antonio," Manoel Carvalho da Maya; at "S. Jacob," Manoel Nunes; at "S. Augustyn," Luis de Paiva de Quintal; at "S. Laurens," Antonio da Silva; at "Santa Cruz," Gaspar de Aranja Pereira; at "S. Francisco Xavier," Manoel Caldeira de Brito; and at "S. Galvoca," Domingos Pires.

Within the town of Colombo there were altogether about 1,300 persons, of whom 500 were in receipt of Government pay, and included married and unmarried men, children, and Topasses. There were some 300 married men not in the service, 450 lascarines, and sixty black merchants. The number of Europeans was only about 500. Antonio de Abreu sent at once to Goa for assistance, whereupon an armada was dispatched under Manoel de Magalhaes Coutinho, who, however, went no further than Cape Comorin.

The Dutch lost no time in making arrangements for an attack, and four batteries were speedily completed. Three of them were 200 feet from the wall, and one battery, armed with three heavy cannon, was within 100 feet of the bulwark of "S. João." As soon as Raja Singha became acquainted with the position of affairs, he offered to assist the Dutch, and natives from every direction ran to swell the attacking army. On the 28th October the Dessaye of the "Seven Corlas" arrived with 500 men, and on the same day the attack was commenced. The batteries did a considerable amount of damage to the old bulwarks, and many walls and houses were knocked down, but the walls were repaired with the greatest expedition. The damage was greatest at the bulwark of "S. João."

The bombardment went on continuously until the 9th November, and the bulwark of "S. João" was reduced to a heap of ruins, after which the principal attack was made on the fortress of "S. Sebastião." The enemy now determined to storm the city, but before doing so, the commander sent a letter to Antonio de Souza Coutinho, demanding the surrender of the place in the name of Raja Singha and of the Honourable Company. The reply was, of course, in the negative, and orders were then given for the assault.

The attack was then renewed both by sea and land, and it is said that as many as 800 balls were fired daily against the place. On the 12th November the yachts opened fire against the water-tower, and preparations were made for the assault by land at three points simultaneously: the Dutch Governor, Van der Meyden, with ten companies, was to attack the Porta Rajuba and the bulwarks of "S. Filippo" and "Clergos"; Major Johan Van der Laan, with nine companies, the bulwarks of "S. João" and "Couras"; and Jacob Lippens, with two companies, some sailors, and seven Chinese "Champans," was ordered to cross the canal and attack the town at its weakest point.

The Governor led his party to the assault, but was met with such a determined resistance that his men were thrown into confusion and forced to retire, Van der Meyden himself being wounded in the leg. Van der Laan attempted three times to place his ladders against the wall, but unsuccessfully, and was also forced to retire with the loss of many of his men. The third party, under Jacob Lippens, succeeded in entering the town after a fierce struggle, in which, however, Lippens himself was wounded and taken back. His men, receiving no support from the other parties, who had been unsuccessful, ran through the town fighting all they met with, but not knowing their way, they soon found themselves surrounded by Portuguese, and nearly every one was

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1656.

wounded before he could escape. In this unsuccessful assault the enemy lost 200 in killed and 350 in wounded.

Meanwhile the Portuguese batteries took good effect upon the Dutch vessels, one of which, being deserted by its crew as it was in a sinking condition, was drawn ashore by the defenders, and the provisions it contained came as a godsend to the famished garrison.

The Dutch now commenced a regular siege of the town, whereupon the commander of the garrison sent out all those who were, from one reason or another, incapable of aiding in the defence; but they were obliged to return again by the Dutch, who refused to receive them. The siege then proceeded with its usual accompaniments of small skirmishes, mining, counter-mining, &c., &c. By the following February (1656) the want of food began to be severely felt within the town.

The Portuguese had never done much towards the fortifying of Colombo. At one part, which was naturally strong, they had merely planted some palm-trees, which were destroyed by the sea-water; the walls and bulwarks, which should have been made of stone, were only formed of earth, which was washed away by the rain. In one place the gun-carriages were so bad that they tumbled to pieces each time the gun was fired, and extemporary measures had to be adopted to remedy the defect.

On the 2nd March an officer started in a boat to Manar in order to get assistance, which it was thought might have arrived from Portugal, "for at Goa nothing was taken less care of than Ceylon, for although they had ships there in abundance to send to Macassar and Mozambique, they could not be spared for Ceylon, the reason being that the cinnamon was for the King of Portugal, whilst the cargoes received from other places were for the private merchants, and in India private interest precedes common interest."

Daily desertions occurred from Colombo to the enemy, and brought news to the Dutch that, although provisions

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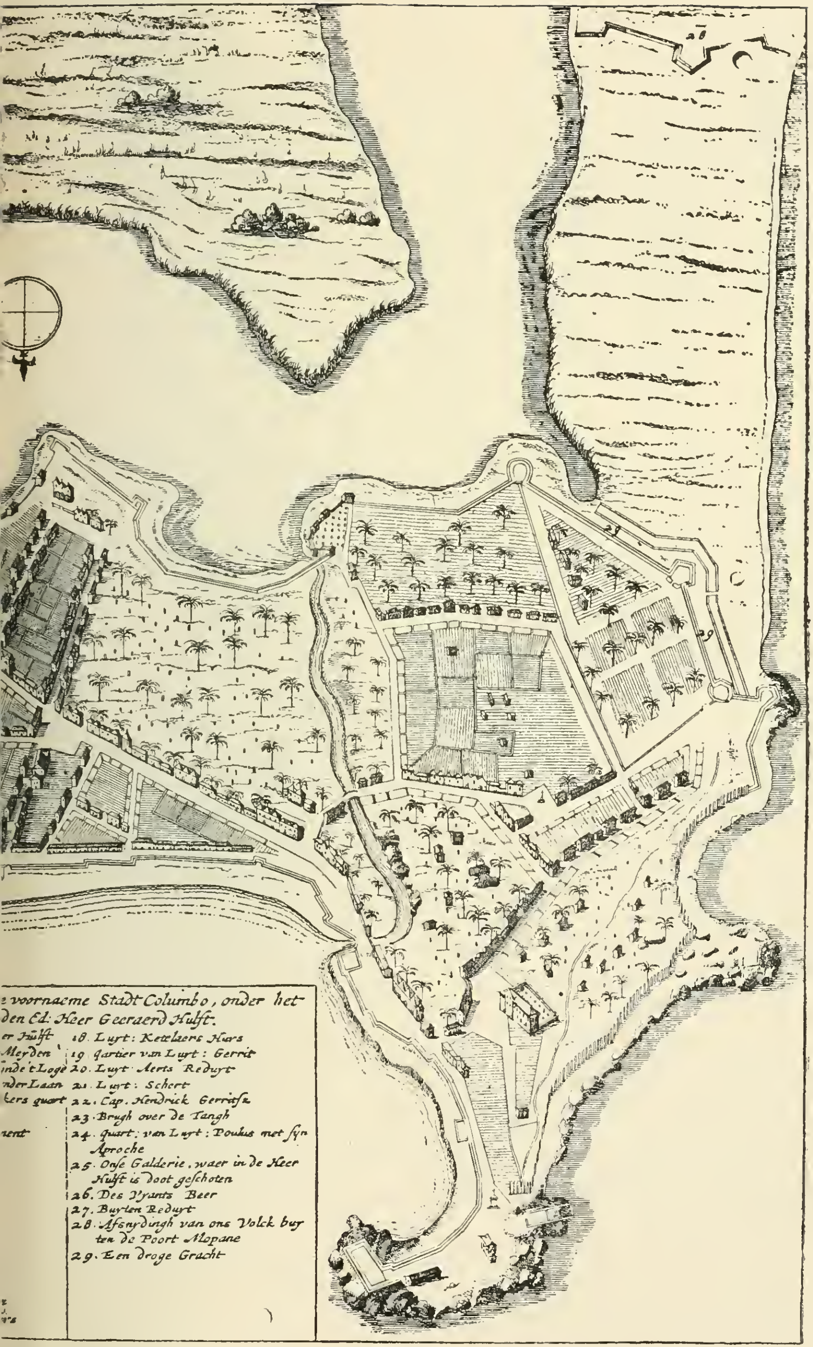
From Ph. Baldaus' Work



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r, Coromandel, and Ceylon.

were then very scarce, the garrison would be able to hold out until May. On the 10th April the Dutch commander, Hulst, visited the batteries and was killed by a chance shot from one of the forts. Van der Meyden then took the command, and on the same day he endeavoured once more to induce the garrison to surrender, but in vain; he therefore resolved to storm the town again on a certain day, but his intentions having been discovered to the Portuguese, he postponed the attack until the 7th May.

In this assault the bulwark of "S. João" was captured. Three times the Portuguese endeavoured to retake it, but on each occasion they were repulsed. The Dutch then fortified themselves in that position, and the following day the bulwark of "S. Sebastião" was also captured. On the 10th May the Dutch had planted cannon on "S. João" and began to use them against the town. In the afternoon the Dutch commanders visited the bulwark, when a messenger arrived from the town with a white flag, carrying a letter from de Sousa, in which he requested that an armistice might be arranged with the view of negotiations for the surrender of the town. Articles were shortly afterwards agreed to and signed by both parties, and on the 12th May, 1656, the Portuguese evacuated the town, which was then taken possession of by the Dutch.

The conditions on which Colombo was surrendered were as follows:—

1. That the churches and statues should be treated with all respect; that the clergy should be at liberty to take with them all things belonging to the ceremonies, and all the properties of the church they might desire to remove, the Dutch undertaking to convey them to certain places.

2. Antonio de Souza Coutinho, Francisco de Mello de Castro, and de Souza's son, Antonio, were to be taken with all their property, slaves, and female slaves, to the

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1656. coast of India, and to be treated with all the respect due to their rank. These officers asked to be taken to Tuticorin or to Manar, but this the Dutch refused to assent to.

3. The officers, captains, &c., were to be allowed to take their personal property with them; the soldiers to leave the town with flying standards, with drums beating, with fuses alight, and musket-balls in their mouths. The officers were to be taken to the coast of India and the soldiers to Europe.

4. The other officials, judges, &c., were to be treated according to their respective grades and positions.

5. Those who wished to stay and become Dutch subjects were to be treated accordingly; to be allowed to retain their property, and to be free as to their religion; only, in the event of their leaving the town, their property was to be confiscated.

6. The married people were to be protected and taken care of. The unmarried ones, such as might not wish to stay, and the merchants (European, natives, and foreigners) were to be taken to the coast of India with any merchandise they might possess.

7. The natives were to be treated like Dutch subjects, while the Lascarins, Moollahs, and Aratches were to be permitted to leave if they liked.

8. Those prevented by illness, &c., from leaving the town were to be allowed to remain and have their choice when recovered.

Meanwhile all were to be under the protection of the Dutch general; while, until the 30th May, such ships as might arrive with victuals were to be warned that the town had changed rulers, and be allowed to sail back unmolested until out of sight of Colombo.

CHAPTER XII.

Death of Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira—Manoel Mascarenhas Homem Succeeds him—Conde de Villa Pouca de Aguiar appointed Viceroy—Capture of Tuticorin, Manar, and Jafanapatam by the Dutch—Occupation of Negapatam by the Dutch—Defeat of the Adil Khan's Forces—Capture of Quilon and Cranganor by the Dutch—Repulse of the Dutch at Cochin—Antonio de Mello e Castro appointed Governor—Capture of Cochin and Cannanore by the Dutch—Treaty of Peace between the King of Portugal and the States-General—Cession of Bombay to King Charles II. of England—Refusal by the Governor of Bombay to Surrender the Island to the English—Protest by the Viceroy against the Surrender of Bombay—Surrender of Bombay to the English, and Conditions of the Same—Quarrels between the Portuguese and English relative to Bombay.

CHAP. XII.

A.D. 1656.

Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira did not live to witness the loss of Colombo, although he could hardly have been unconscious of the inevitable fate of that city before his death. He is reputed to have administered his government with prudence, rectitude, and disinterestedness; but the few months he was in office were not sufficient time to afford him an opportunity of greatly distinguishing himself. He died at Goa on the 3rd January, 1656, and a strong suspicion prevailed that he had been poisoned.

On his death no Patents of Succession were forthcoming; the three States joined together to elect a new Governor, and their choice fell upon Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, who was accordingly installed in office on the 14th January. In the following May, Patents of Succession arrived, according to which those designated to assume the government, in the event of the death of Dom Rodrigo, were Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, Francisco

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1657-58. de Mello e Castro, and Antonio de Sousa Coutinho. The two latter were in Ceylon at the time, but they subsequently repaired to Goa and took part in the administration.

The King next appointed the Conde de Villa Pouca de Aguiar as Viceroy, but he died on the way out. The fleet with which he embarked arrived at Goa on the 7th of September, 1657, and upon opening the Patents of Succession, which also accompanied, it was found that the same persons were named therein who were already holding the reins of government. On the 25th September Manoel Mascarenhas Homem died, and the other two members of the government thereafter carried on the administration until the 14th June, 1661, when a new Patent of Succession arrived.

After the loss of Colombo, the Portuguese sent reinforcements to the Island of Manar and to Jafanapatam. Early in February, 1658, the Dutch forces arrived at Tuticorin from Negumbo. Here they met with but little opposition, and after only a short and slight resistance, the Portuguese evacuated the town, burnt their vessels, and took to flight. The place was then taken and occupied by the Dutch. A few days later the Dutch made their appearance before the island of Manar. Here the Portuguese had made every preparation for a defence; there were 1,000 men in the fortress, and twelve frigates to protect them by sea. The latter, however, appear to have afforded but little assistance; they had an encounter with the Dutch fleet, in which they were defeated and the entire fleet was captured.

The Dutch then landed their forces under the protection of a heavy fire from their vessels, by which General Antonio Amiral de Menezes was killed, and Antonio Mendes de Araujo was seriously wounded. The enemy appear to have met with very little resistance, for a panic broke out amongst the garrison, who deserted the fortress and fled across the channel to Jafa-

napatam, leaving Andrea Vilsosa behind, with only 200 soldiers, in the castle of "S. Jorge." A heavy downpour of rain prevented the Dutch from following the fugitives, who accordingly made good their escape without molestation.

Andrea Vilossa being quite unable, with the few men at his command, to make a reasonable defence with any prospect of success, surrendered to the enemy on the 22nd February. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and the Dutch then occupied the fortress, which they greatly improved and strengthened.

From Manar the Dutch crossed over to Ceylon and marched towards Jafanapatam. During their progress they met with no opposition from the natives. Having arrived at the bay which separates the greater part of the peninsula of Jafanapatam from the island, they resolved to cross it at a point where it is about two miles (English) wide, rather than march along the coast and enter it at its southern point. It was fully expected that this crossing would be attended by serious difficulties, as, owing to the limited means for transport available, only some 200 or 300 men could be passed over at a time; the opposite side also was marshy, and it was anticipated that the Portuguese would resist the passage. All, however, passed off successfully, as the defenders were expecting the enemy at a point further north, where the bay could then be passed on foot.

On crossing, the invaders were well received by the natives. Immediately after the whole army had been passed over it marched to Navacoule, with two field-pieces. Here they bivouaced for the night; and the next morning the Dutch marched as far as the church at Sundecoule, where they met with an advance party of the Portuguese army, whom they defeated with some loss. The next morning they attacked the town of Jafanapatam, which was not enclosed by a wall, but the houses were all substantially-built stone structures. Here the enemy

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1658.

chased the Portuguese through the streets, in their advance towards the castle. The church of the Jesuits and the convent on the western side of the town were taken on the 9th March, and on the 18th of the same month the church and convent of the Dominicans on the eastern side were captured.

The Portuguese now retired within the fortress, and were accompanied by a number of natives. On the island opposite to the town the Portuguese had constructed a strong fort, which formed the key to Jafanapatam, and this had first to be captured to admit of the Dutch ships taking part in the final attack. The walls of this fort being impervious to guns, owing to their thickness, it was resolved to take it by storming. A summons to surrender was first sent to the commander, which he refused to comply with, promising to defend the fort "to the last drop of his blood." The women within the fort fled to Negapatam; and preparations were made for a defence. The garrison were, however, soon reduced to extremities owing to a want of water, as there were no wells within the fort, and all the available supply, of which there was from the first but a limited quantity, was kept in wooden basins. The fort was surrendered to the Dutch on the 27th April, and the captain was sent across to the Coromandel coast.

The castle of Jafanapatam was too strong to be taken by storm, as the walls were too high to be scaled, and being constructed upon a rocky formation it could not be attacked by covered approaches and mines; the structure also was too strong to be battered by cannon, and the castle was surrounded by triple walls. The only practicable means of attack was therefore to surround the fort and starve the garrison out. The place was closely invested, and all attempts of the garrison to obtain supplies from the neighbouring islands were frustrated; at the same time heavy firing was kept up against the place with mortars, which threw burning grenades within the walls. The Portuguese garrison, however, held out boldly, their

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From Ph. Baldæus' Work

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courage being kept up by the hope of the speedy arrival of assistance from Goa. This the besiegers learned from an intercepted letter which had been sent from the castle; they, however, also received intelligence that a fleet dispatched to their aid had been met near Goa by a Dutch fleet, under Admiral Roothaes, on the 23rd March and defeated.

Meanwhile the siege was continued, but the Portuguese were at last compelled to surrender, and the commander capitulated to the Dutch on the 22nd June. The terms of capitulation were that the garrison should leave the fortress with flags flying, drums beating, &c., &c. The officers were to retire to some Portuguese possession in India, and the men to be transported to Europe; but no one was to be allowed to take any property away with him, and from this condition the clergy even were not allowed to claim any exemption.

More than 1,600 people had died or been killed during the three months the siege lasted, but, notwithstanding this, the numbers within the fortress were so great that the evacuation of it took two days to complete.

Upon taking possession of the castle, the Dutch found everything broken by the grenades. They left only a small garrison here, most of whom were Portuguese who had deserted to the enemy, and the main body of the Dutch army set off for the Coromandel coast to commence the siege of Negapatam. Shortly afterwards a plot was discovered at Jafanapatam; the Portuguese who formed part of the garrison, having arranged, during the celebration of service, to murder all the officers in the church, to kill the guard at the castle, and thus to make themselves masters of the place. The plot was to have been carried out on the 15th September, 1658, on which day a thanksgiving service was to have been held for the success of the Dutch arms, but it was discovered a few days previously. The conspirators were accordingly taken, and the three principal men were bound on crucifixes,

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1658-61.

killed by an axe-stroke, and their hearts were then cut out and thrown in their faces; one of the others was decapitated, and the remaining eleven were hanged.

The Dutch army, in due course, appeared before Negapatam, whereupon the inhabitants ceded the town to them without any attempt at a defence, and Major Joan van der Laan occupied the town on behalf of his government in July, 1658. The terms of surrender were to the effect that the Portuguese were to be at liberty to leave the town, and take with them all their possessions and goods, as well as their church ornaments, and that the Dutch should provide them with the means of conveyance to such other places in India as might be determined on.

In the following year, 1659, the Adil Khan again invaded the Portuguese territories, whereupon Luiz de Mendoça Furtado led an expedition against him, and inflicted a severe defeat upon his forces at Margão and obliged them to retire, after which the Adil Khan desisted for some time from making any further attack upon these possessions.

Although thus relieved from external assaults, the State was continually disturbed by internal disorders. In 1660, the Archbishop of Goa having died, the Canons of the Church disagreed amongst themselves as to who should be his successor. The strife on this point ran very high, and the Canons armed themselves, and forming into two parties, occupied different parts of the city, intending to decide by force who was to succeed to the vacant See. So serious was the disturbance that the civil power was obliged to interfere, and to put a stop to this ecclesiastical mutiny.

On the 14th June, 1661, a new Patent of Succession to the Government arrived at Goa, in which Dom Manoel Mascarenhas, Luiz de Mendoça Furtado, and Dom Pedro de Lancastre were nominated. Dom Manoel Mascarenhas did not accept the appointment, as he was

then Governor of Mozambique, but the other two were duly installed, and continued to govern the Portuguese possessions in India until the 14th December, 1662.

In the beginning of December, 1661, the Dutch admiral, Rijklof van Goens, appeared with a fleet before Quilon, which place had been previously captured by the Dutch, but had been subsequently retaken by the Portuguese. A force was landed on the 7th December, which was opposed by some 7,000 Nairs, who, although they fought with desperate bravery, were ultimately defeated. The Dutch troops then marched against the town, whereupon the Portuguese commander offered to accept terms of capitulation, but upon this proposal being refused the garrison deserted and fled to the neighbouring woods, and the enemy thereupon took possession of the town without opposition. On the 10th December, a body of Nairs again endeavoured to oppose the Dutch, but they were once more repulsed, and the enemy thereupon took possession of the Queen's palace and of a large pagoda.

Immediately after the capture of Quilon, the Dutch troops proceeded to Cranganor, where they landed under the command of Rijklof van Goens, at the end of December. They, however, found the fortress so well fortified that it appeared impracticable to reduce it without a regular siege. Guns, battering-rams, and all the necessary materials for the purpose were accordingly landed from the fleet. A bombardment was carried on for fourteen days, after which, a report having been received from a native deserter that the Portuguese inside the fort were in a deplorable condition, it was decided to storm the place. Accordingly, on the morning of the 15th January, 1662, after a furious bombardment, the besiegers, advancing under cover of the smoke of their guns, attacked the stronghold, climbed the bulwarks, and drove the Portuguese back to the church of the Jesuits. A fierce engagement then took place, both sides fighting with considerable

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1662.

bravery, but the loss was more heavy amongst the defenders. After about 200 of the garrison had been killed, and the Portuguese commander, Urbano Fialho Fereira, had been severely wounded, the fortress was surrendered to the Dutch, who immediately took possession, and sent all the Portuguese soldiers found there back to Europe.

The Dutch fleet then sailed for Cochin, and a force was landed near that town in February, 1662. The first resistance here met with was from the Nairs, who disputed the advance of the Dutch, notwithstanding they had been informed by the commander that he only desired to fight with the Portuguese, and not with the native King. A battle was fought near the King's palace, but the Nairs, fighting without much method, were soon disposed of, 400 of them being killed, and the Queen was taken prisoner. The Dutch force was then formed into three companies, one of which was placed on the sea side of the town, one on the land side, and the third was sent to occupy a position near the river. Batteries and approaches were then formed, and after a short attack it was decided to storm the place. It had been intended to have delivered the assault before sunrise, but owing to some delay the advance was not made until 5 o'clock a.m. This was at once discovered by the Portuguese, who were thus prepared to meet the attack, and, although the Dutch commanders did their utmost, they were forced to retreat.

The enemy then continued the siege, during which they lost many men. At the end of a month their force had become reduced to 1,400 men, and as they were now in want of several war materials, especially fuses, and as the winter was coming on, it was determined to raise the siege. Accordingly one night all the cannon and mortars were taken on board the fleet as quietly as possible, and the troops were then embarked, whereupon the fleet sailed away for Batavia before the Portuguese discovered that the siege had been raised.

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1662.

Antonio de Mello e Castro was nominated Governor of India on the 11th March, 1662, and a year later he was authorised to assume the title of Viceroy. He arrived at Bombay on the 29th September and immediately took over the government.

In the following month the Dutch again appeared before Cochin with a greatly increased army. A year previously the directors of the East India Company had promised, in a letter sent to the Government of India, that all Portuguese in that country who might subject themselves to the Company, should be permitted to trade freely, and to have absolute freedom of religion in as many churches as they liked to maintain. These proposals the Dutch commander now communicated to the Governor of Cochin, in the hope that he would on those terms be willing to surrender the place, in addition to which it was stipulated that the Dutch should only have one church, and that their soldiers should occupy the fortress. The Portuguese commander, Ignatio Sermento, however, refused to entertain the suggestion, and it was therefore resolved to take the place by storm. No time was to be lost in carrying this to a successful issue, as it was daily expected that news would arrive in India of the conclusion of a peace between the Portuguese and the Dutch.

The first attack on the town was repulsed by its brave defenders, but on a second attempt the Dutch were more successful. In this, attacks were made simultaneously on three points; at one of these Captain Pierre du Pon succeeded in gaining a position on the wall, and although the attacks on the other parts were not so successful, and resulted in considerable loss to the assailants, Pierre du Pon managed to hold out against the garrison until some reinforcements came to his assistance, whereupon the Portuguese commander surrendered upon the following terms and conditions:—

"That the town of Cochin be surrendered with all its

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1663.

jurisdictions, income, and lands, with all documents and papers referring to the same, and whatever else there may be there held in the name of the King of Portugal, all rights and titles to the same being made over to the commander or his representatives.

"That all artillery, merchandise, victuals, movable and immovable goods, slaves, and whatever else may be there, be similarly handed over to the said commander.

"That all free persons who may have borne arms should swear not to serve against the Dutch State for the next two years.

"That the soldiers and all others belonging to the army should leave the town with flags flying, drums beating, fuses alight, musket-balls in their mouths, and two field-pieces, to some suitable place outside the town where their arms were to be piled before the standard of the commander. All unmarried true-born Portuguese to be sent back to Europe.

"That the married Portuguese and Mestizoes should start for Goa and be permitted to take with them their beds, and such other articles as the commander and his council might allow.

"That all free 'Toepassen' and 'Canarins' should remain at the disposal of the commander.

"That the clergy should be allowed to take with them their images and church ornaments, excepting such as might be of gold or silver.

"That all free persons, and those belonging to the church, if subjects of the King of Portugal, and who might be wandering through the country, should be included in this treaty."

This treaty was concluded at the headquarters of the Dutch army before Cochin on the 7th January, 1663, and ratified by both sides on the following day.

As most of the valuables had been previously removed by the Portuguese from Cochin and sent to Goa, the Dutch did not find much valuable booty within the city.

Directly after the capture of Cochin, the Dutch proceeded to Cannanore. They found that place well fortified, especially on the side facing the sea, so that it was deemed advisable to make an attack principally on the land side. The town was without walls, but the fortress was strongly built. A force was landed and an attack immediately commenced, but the cannon-balls made only a slight impression on the walls of the fort. After the siege had been carried on for some days, the Portuguese commander, having heard of the fall of Cochin, and entertaining no reasonable hope of relief, capitulated to the enemy on the 13th February, 1663. Most of the Portuguese garrison retired to Goa, and Antonio Cardosa, who had been Commander of Cannanore, was decapitated by order of the Viceroy for having, in his judgment, surrendered the fortress without reasonable cause or excuse.

Soon after the loss of Cannanore, news arrived that peace had been concluded between the States-General and the King of Portugal. The treaty had been signed on the 6th August, 1661, and was ratified by the King of Portugal and the States-General on the 24th May and 4th December, 1662, respectively. On the ground that the towns and fortresses of Cochin and Cannanore had been captured subsubsequently to the signing of the treaty, the surrender of those places was afterwards claimed by the Portuguese from the Dutch; to which, however, the latter replied that hostilities only ceased when both parties had assented to and ratified the treaty, the publication of which did not take place until the 14th March, 1663. This question was again raised in 1666 by the Portuguese ambassador to Holland, but he was unable to obtain any satisfaction for Portugal.

The following extracts from this treaty are those which may be held to refer to India, and as by Clause VI. it is only stipulated that those places that might have been captured after the publication of the treaty were to be restored, it is clear that the Portuguese claim for the restor-

CHAP. XII.

A.D. 1666.

ation of Cochin and Cannanore was untenable under that treaty.

"CLAUSE IV.—The inhabitants of the United Netherlands shall also be allowed to trade and travel in all colonies, islands, regions, provinces, harbours, states, villages, mercantile places, that part of Africa which has to obey and is subjected to the said King, the island of San Thomé included, and to remain there to negotiate and do mercantile business, to transport their goods, packs, merchandise of all sorts, by sea and by land and up the rivers, to expose them to sale, also that they shall be free to export those goods and import them in other countries, and this with the same liberty the English and every other nation enjoys at this moment, or has enjoyed before, or shall be proved to enjoy or to have enjoyed in future: and to have proper houses to live in and to possess them, as well as warehouses to put in their goods and merchandise, without being disturbed by anybody. Nothing of what has been agreed on or stipulated in this clause and the one preceding shall ever be abolished or evaded, nor shall the inhabitants of the United Netherlands ever act fraudulently against this treaty."

* * * * *

"CLAUSE VI.—According to this treaty all hostilities and offensive deeds shall cease between the King and the Kingdom of Portugal on the one part and the United Netherlands on the other, and between their subjects and citizens, and this in Europe within two months from the date that this treaty shall be signed by both parties, and in the other parts of the world from the date of the publication of this document, and to all prisoners on both sides shall be given their former freedom directly after the ratification of this treaty; so all regions, all places, ships, and goods, which may be conquered in the meantime by either of them, as well as those which were conquered in former times in the East Indies, in the West Indies or elsewhere, will remain in the possession of those who will

appear to have been their possessors at the said moment; but those which will be occupied and taken after the elapse of two months since the said treaty shall have been signed, in Europe, and after its publication in other parts of the world, shall be restituted to their former masters, and this without any delay or exception." . . . .

On the 23rd June, 1661, a Marriage Treaty was concluded between King Charles II. of England and the Infanta of Portugal, under which all previous treaties between Portugal and Great Britain were ratified; the City and Castle of Tangier was made over "to the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors for ever"; a dowry of "two millions of crowns or Portuguese crusados" was to be given "to the King of England as a dowry with the Lady Infanta"; and the port and island of Bombay was also given to the King of Great Britain.

The clauses of the treaty relating to this latter transfer are as follows:—

"XI.—That for the better improvement of the English interest and commerce in the East Indies, and that the King of Great Britain may be better enabled to aid, assist, defend, and protect the subjects of the King of Portugal in those parts from the power and invasion of the States of the United Provinces, the King of Portugal, with the assent and advice of his Council, gives, transfers, and by these presents grants and confirms upon the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors for ever, the Port and Island of Bombay in the East Indies, with all the rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging, and together with all income and revenue, as also the direct and absolute Dominion and Sovereignty of the said Port and Island of Bombay and premises, with all their royalties, freely, fully, entirely, and absolutely. He also covenants and grants that quiet and peaceable possession of the same shall, with all convenient speed, be freely and effectually given and delivered to the King of Great Britain (or to the persons whom the

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1661.

said King of Great Britain shall depute for this purpose) for his own use. In pursuance of their cession the inhabitants of the said island (as subjects of the King of Great Britain, and under his Commands, Crown, Jurisdiction, and Government) shall remain therein and enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in the same manner as they now do. This must be understood, as it is now declared once for all, that the same regulation respecting it shall be observed for the exercise and preservation of the Roman Catholic religion in the City of Tangier, and in all other places which by the King of Portugal shall be granted and delivered to the King of Great Britain, in the same manner as were covenanted and stipulated in the delivery of Dunkirk to the English gentlemen. And when the King of Great Britain shall send his fleet to take possession of the Port and Island of Bombay, the English shall carry instructions to treat the subjects of the King of Portugal in the East Indies in the most friendly manner, and to help, assist, and protect them in their trade and navigation there.

"XII.—In order that the subjects of the King of Great Britain may enjoy more ample benefits from their trade and commerce throughout the King of Portugal's dominions, it is covenanted and granted that over and above the grants made to them by the former Treaties, the merchants and factors shall, by virtue of this Treaty, have liberty of residing in all places where they shall judge proper. Particularly they shall dwell and enjoy the same privileges and immunities so far as they shall relate to trade as the Portuguese themselves in the cities and towns of Goa, Cochin, and Diu; provided that the subjects of the King of Great Britain, resident in any of the above-mentioned places, shall not exceed the number of four families in any one of them.

"XIII.—The subjects of the King of Great Britain shall enjoy the same privileges, liberties, and immunities in the city of Bahia de Todas as Santos (or St. Salvador's Bay),

Pernambuco, and Rio Janeiro, in the Province of Brazil, and throughout all the dominions of the King of Portugal in the West Indies.

"XIV.—If, however, the King of Great Britain or his subjects should at any time hereafter recover from the States-General of the United Netherlands, or from any others, any towns, castles, or territories that may have belonged heretofore to the Crown of Portugal, the King of Portugal, with the assent and advice of his Council, grants the supreme sovereignty and the full, entire, and absolute dominion of the same, and of every of them whatsoever to the said King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors for ever, freely, entirely, and absolutely (excepting Muskat, which is now inhabited by the Arabs). And if ever the island of Zeila* (commonly called Zeilam) should in any manner whatever come into the possession of the King of Portugal, he binds and obliges himself by this Treaty to cede and transfer to the King of Great Britain, the town and port of Galla,† with a full and absolute dominion over it, and cause most effectually the possession of the said town and port with all its appurtenances to be given and delivered to the said King of Great Britain, the aforesaid King of Portugal reserving, however, to himself the town and port of Colombo, but the common trade shall nevertheless be equally divided between the English and Portuguese. In the like manner, if ever the said island should come into the power of the King of Great Britain, he is bound effectually to restore and surrender the dominion and possession of the town and port of Colombo to the King of Portugal, the trade of cinnamon being in the manner aforesaid equally divided between the English and Portuguese."

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"*Secret Article.*—Besides everything and each of them covenanted and agreed upon in the Marriage Treaty

* Ceylon. † Galle.

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1661.

between the Most Serene and Potent Prince Charles II., King of Great Britain, and the Most Serene Dona Catherina Infanta of Portugal, it is further concluded and covenanted by this Secret Article that the said King of Great Britain shall do the most he can and shall apply all his force and powers to the end of making a firm and permanent peace between the Most Serene King of Portugal and the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, including the said King of Portugal, in that confederation which shall be made with the said States. And in case of the said States refusing to adhere to those conditions which shall be deemed just, sure, and honourable ones to the said King of Portugal, then the said King of Great Britain, when he shall send his fleet to take possession of the island of Bombay, shall also send such force, which shall go well furnished of all the necessaries as well as of instructions, to defend, aid, and assist all the Portuguese country in the East Indies. And if so should happen that the said States-General of the United Provinces or their subjects, within or after the time in which the King of Great Britain shall offer his mediation to the said States in order to bring on a peace between them and the King of Portugal, accept the mediation which may be or shall be proposed to them, such places or territories as they may have or as shall henceforth be taken from the King of Portugal, the said King of England shall most effectually insist upon all and each of these places and territories being restored to the King of Portugal, employing for this purpose the greatest and sufficient force of his in order to procure the said restoration, and for all the assistance and succours which shall for the above-mentioned purpose be given to the King of Portugal, the King of England shall not ask for any satisfaction or compensation."

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In pursuance of this treaty the King of Portugal, on

the 9th April, 1662, issued the following orders to Antonio de Mello e Castro, the Viceroy:—

"I, King, send you greeting. By the article of the contract which has been agreed on with the King of England, my good brother and cousin, concerning the dowry portion of the Queen his wife, my most beloved and esteemed sister, which you will receive with this letter, you will understand why and how the port and country of Bombay relates to him, and the obligations I am under for directing the same to be delivered over to him. Immediately as you arrive at the States of India you will ask for the credentials from the King by which you will understand the person to whom possession should be given and make delivery. You will accordingly cause the same to be made in the manner of that capitulation, observing the same yourself and causing the whole and every part thereof to be duly observed, and direct that the whole may be committed to writing very clearly and distinctly so as at all time to appear the whole that may pass in this affair. You will further send the same to me by different conveyances in order to settle and adjust the acquittance of the dowry promised to the King, and by the other articles of that treaty it will be present to you, the Union we celebrated, and the obligation the King has to afford me succour in all my urgencies and necessity I may have. In any necessity you may find it convenient to apply to the English, you will do so, and at the same time you will assist them in the same way. Written at Lisbon, the 9th April, 1662."

* * * * *

The King's fleet arrived at Bombay on the 18th September, 1662, and demanded the cession of the island and of its dependencies comformably to the treaty between the King and the Crown of Portugal. The Portuguese Governor of Bombay, however, refused to give up the island. And the new Portuguese Viceroy, Antonio de Mello e Castro, who had come out in the English fleet,

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refused to interpose his authority till he should proceed to Goa and receive instructions from the Portuguese Government there. In justification of this refusal to obey his Majesty's commands he wrote the following letter to the King on the 28th December:—

"It did not appear convenient to hand over Bombay, as the British refused me assistance every time I asked for it, and went so far as to hand over to the Moors of Anjuanne forty-two of your Majesty's vassals, among which number there were twenty-seven Christians which I had with me in the vessel. Your Majesty says in your letter, 'As soon as you arrive at the estate of India you shall demand the King's warrant, and thereby you will know the persons to whom the possession is to be given and the delivery made.' Abraham Shipman gave me, instead of the warrant which I asked for, a sealed letter written in Latin, and Letters Patent in English. The letter had defects, and the Letters Patent had not the signature of the King of England. I doubted the validity of the one and the other, as all the Letters Patent I have ever seen had the Royal signature; and there could be no reason for the omission in this case." . . . "If I doubted the letter which they call a warrant, how could I hand them over the place, as the conditions under which your Majesty's instructions were given were wanting?" . . . "The secret chapter which your Majesty sent me says, that the King of England agrees to arrange peace between your Majesty and the Dutch on honourable, advantageous, and safe terms for your Majesty, and, in the event of the Dutch not agreeing to the terms, he will send such a fleet as will defend and protect all the Portuguese possessions in India, and that this fleet shall be sent at the same time as the instructions for the handing over of Bombay are given. If your Majesty orders me to hand over Bombay in accordance with the terms of the capitulations, it follows that I cannot hand it over in another form. The terms of the capitulation require the

King of England shall first arrange the treaty of peace; that the Dutch should first either agree to the terms or not and continue the war, and that a sufficient fleet should be sent to help us in the latter case. So that the King of England cannot take possession of Bombay. How can I give up Bombay? The treaty of peace is neither accepted nor refused, and no fleet has arrived.

"Moreover, I see the best port your Majesty possesses in India, with which that of Lisbon is not to be compared, treated as of little value only by the Portuguese themselves. I see in the island of Bombay so many Christian souls which some day will be forced to change their religion by the English. How will they allow Catholics to reside in their territories when they hand Catholics over to the Moors? I considered also that your Majesty has no other place to receive and shelter your Majesty's ships. The English once there, and the island fortified, your Majesty will lose all to the north, as they will take away all your Majesty's trade. The English are at peace with us now, but what would it be in case of war? How can those islands, which are the granaries of India, once wedged in between the British and the Mogores, be defended?

"I have shown how I have obeyed your Majesty's orders by preserving the reputation of your Majesty's arms, and prevented the total loss and destruction of your Majesty's territories by not handing over Bombay. As a remedy for all the aforesaid there is only one thing, and that is for your Majesty to buy this island from the King of England. In another letter to your Majesty I say that your Majesty can give from 200 to 300,000 cruzados in three years; now I say your Majesty can give 500,000, 600,000, nay even 1,000,000 cruzados, and I undertake to say that all in this State, who would be pleased to be free from such a yoke, would assist in carrying out the arrangement."

It appears that the English admiral had interpreted

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the terms of the treaty to signify Bombay and its dependencies, or the islands of Thana and Salsette, and that the Portuguese Viceroy interpreted the treaty to signify the cession of the island of Bombay only, not the cession of the dependencies situated between Bombay and Bassein, because that would lay open the principal Portuguese station to the English at Bombay. The Earl of Marlborough demanded in the first instance the cession of Bombay, which was admitted to be within the terms of the treaty. This was objected to by the Portuguese Governor, on the pretext that Sir Abraham Shipman, the commander of the English troops, had not arrived. He therefore refused to allow the troops to be landed, though the Earl of Marlborough pleaded the length of the voyage and the number of men which were daily dying from want of refreshment. On his arrival a few weeks later, October, 1662, Sir Abraham Shipman produced his full powers and demanded from Dom Antonio de Mello e Castro that the cession should be made agreeably to the treaty. To this the Portuguese Viceroy objected, alleging that the form of the Letters or Patent of the King did not coincide with the usages observed in Portugal in like cases. He offered to retain the island for the King of England till sufficient authority should be obtained from Lisbon and from England empowering him to make the cession. Under these embarrassments, the Earl of Marlborough and Sir Abraham Shipman applied to Sir George Oxinden to solicit permission for them to land the troops at Surat. But the President represented that such an application would give offence to the Mughal Governor, who, if it should be attempted, might probably seize the Company's investment and expel their servants from that fort. The only place open to the British troops was the uninhabited island of Anjediva, south of Goa. Here the 500 troops were landed, and in the eighteen following months during which Bombay re-

mained closed to the English, 300 died. The Earl of Marlborough returned to England with the fleet.

On the 16th August, 1663, in consequence of the remonstrances of the English Court, the King of Portugal issued the following orders to the Viceroy :— A.D. 1663.

"I, King, send you greeting. By the way of England intelligence reached me that in the States of India doubts arose with respect to the delivery of the town of Bombay to the order of the King of Great Britain, my good brother and cousin, in conformity of mine which you carried with you. At this I was greatly surprised and am very sorry, because besides the reasons of convenience of this Crown, and more especially of the State of India, which made it necessary for me to take that resolution, I wish much to give the King of England, my brother, every satisfaction. For these and other considerations of the same idency, as well as because the King, my brother, must have sent fresh orders, removing every doubt there might have originated from those he sent first, I therefore direct and order that you do, in compliance of those orders of mine which you carried with you, cause to execute the said delivery with every punctuality, and without the least contradiction, as the matter does not admit of any, and the delay is very prejudical. By complying therewith as I expect from you, I will consider myself well served by you. If you meet with any impediment from any person, you will order to proceed against him publicly as the case may require. Written at Lisbon, the 16th August, 1663."

Shortly afterwards (23rd November, 1663), to remove any doubt as to the person to whom Bombay, should be handed, King Charles issued the following commission in favour of Sir Abraham Shipman.

"Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,—To all to whom these presents shall come, and to each of them in

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particular we send greeting. In the manner that it was settled, concluded, and treated between us and the Most Serene King, the Prince Dom Affonso, by the same Grace King of Portugal, brother relation, and most dear and beloved friend, the said Sovereign of Portugal gave, transferred, granted, and confirmed unto us, our heirs, and successors for ever, the port and island of Bombay, in the East Indies, with all its rights, utilities, appendages, and territories whatsoever, and having, moreover, settled and concluded in the said treaty that the port and island aforesaid should be peaceably and quietly delivered unto us, or to the persons deputed by us for this purpose, that we may have free use of one and the other. Be it therefore known that, confiding in the prudence and integrity of the faithful Abraham Shipman, our beloved subject, Knight of the Golden Ensign and Gentleman of our Privy Council, have made, ordained, and deputed, and do by these presents make, ordain, constitute and appoint our true and indubitable Commissary Deputy and Attorney to take possession of the said port and island of Bombay, giving and granting unto the said Abraham Shipman our true and lawful powers and authority to receive in our name and for our use the said port and island of Bombay, together with the fortress and other things belonging to us by the contract. And for the better execution of the said concession or grant made us, we have in witness whereof and by these presents set our hand and caused our seals to be affixed. Given in our Palace of Whitehall, the 23rd day of the month of November, 1663, the fifteenth year of our reign.—(Signed) CHARLES R."

On receipt of this commission on the 5th April, 1664, Sir Abraham Shipman issued the following orders: "I, Sir Abraham Shipman, of His Majesty's Privy Council, Governor of all the Forces of His Britannic Majesty in the island of Bombay, in the East Indies, do by virtue of the commission given me by His Majesty of Great

Britain, under the seal dependent of England, constitute and ordain Humphrey Cooke as Vice-Governor, and in his absence Ensign John Torne, commanding a regiment of soldiers at present quartered on the island of Anjidiv till such a time as other orders come from England. I therefore direct all the captains, ensigns, sergeants, and all the rest of the officers and soldiers of the said regiment shall obey the orders of the said Humphrey Cooke, and in his absence those of Ensign John Torne. Written at Anjidiv, the 5th April, 1644.—(Signed) ABRAHAM SHIPMAN. Signed sealed and delivered in presence of us.—(Signed) JOHN FOLDEVRY, (signed) THOMAS PRICE, (signed) ROGER MORGAN, (signed) HENRY ANDERSON."

Shortly afterwards Antonio de Mello e Castro received the following letter from the King of Portugal, which was dated the 8th February, 1664:—

"By your letter which has been brought to us overland by Manuel Godinho, I saw with great pain the difficulties which had arisen regarding the delivery of Bombay to the King of Britain, my brother and cousin. What, however, is stipulated in the capitulations admits of no doubt, and I trust that with your prudence you have now arranged matters so far that you will carry out my instructions at once. Should even fresh difficulties present themselves, I order you to overcome them. To the inhabitants of the place you must say they have misunderstood the Article of Capitulation shown them, as their goods will not be confiscated, but they will be allowed to remain in possession of them as heretofore. The difference will be that they will live under the dominion of the King of Great Britain, my brother, who will rule them with justice and in the freedom of the Roman Catholic religion, and with his power he will defend them and secure them in their trade. The King of England also undertakes to protect the places I have in that State, and this was one of the reasons I gave him that island. The inhabitants of the island are so allied by nationality, parentage, &c., to the

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Portuguese all over India that I consider the arrangement will be for their good. You must use all the means in your power to hand over the place soon, as this affair will not admit of delay. Immediately the delivery has taken place you will advise me, as it is of the utmost importance that it should be known here."

On receipt of the above letter, Antonio de Mello e Castro, learning that Sir Abraham Shipman was dead, addressed himself, on the 3rd November, 1664, to the Supreme Court at Goa to the effect that, as the King of England had given a commission to that officer to receive the Island of Bombay on his Majesty's behalf, and did not extend the power to anyone else, he was at a loss to whom he should now surrender it. The Court replied that, having duly examined the will of Abraham Shipman and the commission from the King of England, they were of opinion that the same powers were extended to Humphrey Cooque, who had been nominated by Abraham Shipman by virtue of the said commission, and that the island should be accordingly handed over to him.

In November, 1664, a copy of Mr. Cooke's commission was forwarded to Goa with the following endorsement:—

"We, whose names are hereunder written, do certify that the above writing with the signatures is a true copy of the original which remains in charge of the said Vice-Governor Humphrey Cooke. Written at Anjidiv, the 17th October, 1664.—(Signed) JOHN STEVENS, VALENTER FARRED, WALTER GOLOPHER, JOHN BIRD, WILLIAM LINCOLN, THOMAS FARLY." To this is added: "I, João Gregorio of the Company of Jesus, do certify in verbo sacerdotis that this is a true translation conformable to the original. This 5th day of November, 1664.—(Signed) JOÃO GREGORIO. I, Antonio Gabriel Preto, Senior Clerk of the Civil Court and of Justifications of the State of Goa, do hereby attest that the certificate of the above translation, and signature attesting the same, is the hand-

writing and signature of Padre João Gregorio of the Company of Jesus. Goa, 6th November, 1664.—(Signed) Antonio Gabriel Preto."

It appears that after Sir Abraham Shipman's death at Anjediva in September, 1664, Mr. Humphrey Cooke pressed the Portuguese authorities to hasten the transfer of Bombay. Delays were caused, the Goa authorities refusing for a time to admit that "Humphrey" and "Inofre" were the same name.

On receipt of the decision of the Supreme Court in this matter, the Viceroy nominated a commission consisting of Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos and Sebastião Alvares Nigos to carry out the decision of the Court in his name. This commission left Goa on the 17th January, 1665, reached Bombay on the 11th February, and handed over the island to Humfrey Cooke on the 18th *idem.** The English Governor requested the commission to define the position of the territories of Bombay, and of the villages of Mazagão, Parella, Varoli, Maim, Sião, Daravi, and Vadala, but they replied that they were not instructed to hand over villages but the Island of Bombay, which, as was well known, lay surrounded by the sea; they did, however, define the positions of Mazagão, Parella, and Varoli, which belonged to the territory of the said island.

On the 26th December, 1664, before the surrender of the island, the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello e Castro, drew up the following statement of the case:—

"To give possession, and to make delivery of the said Island of Bombay and its port to the Most Serene King of Great Britain, Charles II., the King, our Master, Dom Affonso VI., having promised it to him in dowry on the marriage of the Most Serene Sinhora Infanta of Portugal, Dona Catharina de Gusmão, his most beloved and

* By a grant of the 27th March, 1669, King Charles II. transferred the Island of Bombay to the London East India Company "to be held in free soccage as of the Manor of East Greenwich," on payment of the annual rent of £10, on the 30th September yearly, for ever.

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esteemed sister, now Queen of Great Britain, and for other reasons contained in the capitulations made by and between the two Crowns, or to the person who should be vested with powers and authority from the Most Serene King of Great Britain to receive charge of the said port and Island of Bombay for and in his behalf and in his name. Governor Humphrey Cooke being present, stated he was the person who had powers and authority from the Most Serene King of Britain, his Master, to accept, in his name, possession and charge of the said Island of Bombay and its port, having succeeded in the room of Sir Abraham Shipman, to whom the said possession and charge was to have been given, and who appointed and nominated him, Humphrey Cooke, to succeed him in case of his death. The directions of the Viceroy did not mention the proper name of Governor Humphrey Cooke in order to give him the possession and cause the delivery of the said island and its port. This occasioned some doubts, but the said Governor Inofre Cooke replied that he was the same Humphrey nominated in the English language by Sir Abraham Shipman, and that Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos, Overseer of the General Estates, being of the Goa Council, knows it to be so. Upon this it was determined to give him the said possession and make the said delivery of the said island. The same was also known to the Chancellor, who was consulted on the occasion, and his opinion was taken by the Viceroy, of which the said Inofre Cooke was acquainted, having been told so at Goa. Further, Governor Cooke presented several letters which the said Viceroy had written to him upon the subject, addressing him by his proper name, Inofre Cooke, Governor of the Island of Bombay and of warlike people of His Most Serene Majesty King of Great Britain, stating that he had orders to put him in possession of the said island and its port, and that on that account he had come from Goa accompanied by the fleet which the said Viceroy

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sent as far as the City of Chaul, the Captain Commandant of which was his son Dionizio de Mello e Castro; also that the Most Serene King of Portugal admitted of no further delay and ordered the island to be delivered without the least doubt or delay. This the said Governor Humphrey Cooke did accordingly ask and demand in behalf and in the name of the Most Serene King of Great Britain with three letters from the said Viceroy which remove every doubt there might exist. The first of these letters, dated Panjim, 26th December, 1664, runs as follows: 'I did not answer the Governor's first letter because I looked upon the execution of what he requested of me to be the best and the most short answer which I now have the pleasure to send, rejoicing much at his safe arrival at this Bar, and that he may have come with health is what I wish. A person shall be appointed to-morrow to go and deliver Bombay. It is also necessary to know by what vessel the people are going, on account of Shivaji's fleet, because if the English gentlemen have no peace with him, steps must be taken to avoid every damage or risk, as I wish to see the Governor and all other subjects of His Most Serene Majesty King of Great Britain safe.—(Signed) ANTONIO DE MELLO E CASTRO.'

"The second letter dated Panjim, 4th January, 1665, runs: 'Having given the necessary orders to deliver Bombay to your Honour in the manner as the King, my Master's, order is to do, the fleet sailed to convoy the Europe ship to a Latitude and will return to-day. Your Honour may take your departure whenever you like, acquainting me whether you require anything else, as I am ready to do everything convenient or necessary for the service of the King of Great Britain and for your own accommodation. You will always find me with goodwill. May God preserve you.—(Signed) ANTONIO DE MELLO E CASTRO.'

"The third letter dated Panjim, 8th January, 1665,

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runs: 'All the despatches are ready for your Honour to depart and take possession of Bombay, and the fleet will be paid to-morrow, if it is not already paid. This, which was the only thing wanting to be done, could not be effected on account of the death of Francisco de Mello e Castro, of which your Honour must have heard. Mr. Henry Gary carries the memorandum your Honour required of me by which your Honour will observe little difference can arise on the part of or with the ministers that are going with you, because all the articles are conformable to the treaty of peace and agreement between the two Crowns. Should your Honour require anything else of me, you will find me ready and with goodwill. May God preserve your Honour.—(Signed) ANTONIO DE MELLO E CASTRO.'"

"The Instrument of Possession was in the following terms: 'In the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all to whom this public instrument of the possession and delivery of the port and island of Bombay shall come: That in the year of the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand six hundred and sixty-five (1665), on the 18th day of February of the said year, then and there being in the said port and island of Bombay, which is of the jurisdiction of Bassein, at the Large House of the Lady Donna Ignez de Miranda, widow of the deceased Dom Rodrigo de Moncauto, Present: Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos of His Majesty's Council and his Overseer of the Estates in general in India, and Doctor Sebastião Alvares Migos, Chancellor of the Court of Justice at Goa, the Vereadores and other officers of the Chamber of the said city of Bassein, noblemen inhabitants residing therein, the Judge, Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the said city, as also one Humphrey Cooke (which in the Portuguese or Spanish language is the same as Inofre Cooke), Governor of the warlike men of His Most Serene Majesty King of Great Britain, and Ensign João Torne, and other persons of the

English Nation, being all present with me, Notary Public hereunder mentioned, where it was declared by the said Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos, Overseer of the Estates in general, and Doctor Sebastião Alvares Migos, Chancellor of the Court of Justice at Goa, that they had come there from the city of Goa by order of the Viceroy and Captain-General of India, Antonio de Mello e Castro, who had sent them, giving them two letters from the King our Master, and his said Viceroy's directions with the credentials from the Most Serene Majesty the King of Great Britain, and the Commission by which Sir Abraham Shipman had made and appointed the said Humphrey Cooke to succeed him on his death.

"Antonio de Mello e Castro of His Majesty's Council, Viceroy and Captain-General of India, maketh known to all whom this Alvara (or instrument) may come, that whereas in conformity of the order I have received from His Majesty for delivering the port and town of Bombay unto the person nominated by His Serene Majesty King of Great Britain, I have for this purpose appointed and nominated Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos, Overseer of the Estates in general, and Doctor Sebastião Alvares Migos, Chancellor of the State, and as it is expedient (for the better definition of all which on this occasion they shall have to treat about) that they should be invested with sufficient powers as the nature of the matter requires, and from the confidence I have on the above-mentioned persons that they shall act in a manner most pleasing to His Majesty, and satisfactory to His Most Serene Majesty the King of Great Britain, I am pleased, and have *bonâ fide* granted unto them, and do hereby grant, all my powers unto the said Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos and Sebastião Alvares Migos, that they may determine upon and remove all and whatever doubts may arise, observing, nevertheless, the instructions I have ordered to be given them, and on every act of theirs being conformable thereto, shall have the same effect and validity as if they were by me done,

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determined, or ordered, adverting, however, that in the event of any cases offering where they cannot proceed with my order, that they shall acquaint me with every particular with their opinion thereon to enable me to resolve upon them as may be most convenient. I do accordingly notify the Captains of the city of Chaul, Bassein, the Factors and Judges thereof, and to all other Ministers of Estates and Justice, officers, and other persons whom this may concern, and I do hereby direct and order them to comply with this Alvara or instrument, and to see that it is wholly and fully complied with, kept, observed, and obeyed without the least doubt or contradiction, as if it was given in the name of His Majesty, and will not pass to Chancery, nor pay the fees called a half Natta, it being on the service of our Sovereign, notwithstanding any custom to the contrary contained in the Statutes L 2, Nos. 39 and 40. Written by Nicolao Ferreira at Panjim, the 10th January, 1665."

Though the Portuguese authorities were at last forced to give up Bombay, they were able to burden the transfer with a large number of conditions. These conditions were: "That the island of Bombay shall be delivered to the English gentlemen with a declaration that, whereas the other islands of the jurisdiction of Bassein have through the bay of the said island of Bombay their commerce, trade, and navigation with equal right, liberty, and freedom, which the said English gentlemen shall never prevent or cause any impediment nor levy any tribute or gabella, neither on the exportation of salt nor any other merchandise of those islands and countries, nor on any other articles which may be brought there from abroad. And it shall be free for all vessels loaded or empty to navigate from the said islands and countries of the Portuguese or other nations that might come to them, and the subjects of the King of Great Britain shall not oblige them to make their first discharge or pay anything in their Custom House, nor by any other means whatsoever. Nor

shall they for this purpose make use of any pretence, because it is thus declared from this time for ever, and they shall not only have good treatment and free passages to our countries, but to those of other as they have hitherto been in the habit of doing.

"That the port of Bandra in the island of Salsette nor any other of the islands shall be impeded, and all vessels from that port or ports, and others coming to them, shall be allowed to pass and repass very frankly, and the English gentlemen shall not allege that they pass under their guns, because it is under this condition that the island is delivered to them, and they cannot expect more than what is granted to them by the Articles of Peace and the Marriage Treaty.

"That they shall not admit any deserter from our country, be it for whatever cause, nor shall they under any pretence whatever pretend to conceal or defend them, as this is the most effectual means of preserving peace and friendship between both Crowns, and of avoiding scandalous practice and future injuries, and in case of any person going to them they are obliged to send and deliver him up to the Captain, for the time being, of the city of Bassein. And because many Gentus who have in their charge goods and money belonging to the Portuguese and other subjects of his majesty, by way of retaining the whole it may happen that they may come to Bombay and shelter themselves under the shadow and protection of the colours of the Most Serene King of England. The English gentlemen shall not only apprehend such people till they satisfy what they may owe, and on their not doing it within two months they shall deliver them up to the Captain of Bassein, in order to satisfy the parties as it may be just and right.

"That the English gentlemen shall not interfere in matters of Faith, nor will compel the inhabitants of the said island of Bombay, neither directly or indirectly, to change their faith or to go and attend their sermons; and shall allow the ecclesiastical ministers the exercise of

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their jurisdiction without the least impediment, being a condition mentioned in the articles of peace under which the delivery of the island is ordered to be made, and if at any time anything contrary is done, it is understood that the whole agreed upon and promised will be violated, and that the right of the said island shall fall again into the Crown of Portugal.

"That the fleets of the King of Portugal, our Master, both ships of the line and the smaller vessels, and any other vessels of his, will at all time be free to sail in and out of the said bay without the least impediment. Nor will they be obliged to ask any leave, because by the reason of the other islands and countries belonging to him a part of the said bay belongs also to him, and it is free to him to make use of it as his own without any doubt or question.

"That all the inhabitants residing at Bombay, as well as those who may have estates in the said island, when they should not like to reside in the said island, it shall be free to them to farm out their estates or sell the same on the best terms they may be able to obtain, and if the English gentlemen should require them, it shall be for their just and equal value, and not on any other terms. But if the English gentlemen should not choose to buy them, nor the holders live in them, it shall be free to them to alienate the same, and until they do so, it shall likewise be free to them to enjoy and make use of the same as they have hitherto done without the least contradiction from the part of the English gentlemen.

"That the inhabitants of the said islands of Salsette, Karanja, and Baragool, and of other places of our jurisdiction, shall freely fish in the said bay and river, and in the arm of the sea which enters and divides Bombay from Salsette by Bandra till the bay, and the English gentlemen shall not at any time prevent them, nor will they at any time and under any pretence whatever demand any tribute on this account, and the inhabitants of Bombay

shall be allowed to do the same with the same liberty and freedom.

"That the Kunbis, Bhandaris, and the rest of the people Abunhados (a sort of people bound to serve the land-holders), or inhabitants of the villages of our jurisdiction, shall not be admitted at Bombay, and on their or any of them resorting thereto, they shall be immediately delivered up to their respective owners; and the same shall be observed with respect to slaves which may run away, and likewise with regard to the artificers that may go from our countries to Bombay, such as carpenters, weavers, turners, joiners, caulkers, sawyers, drillers, smiths, and any other. They shall be immediately delivered up. And if the English gentlemen should at any time require these artificers they shall ask them from the Captain of Bassein, who will send them for a limited time, they keeping their families in our countries. And on their being still wanted, even after the expiration of the limited time, they shall go and present themselves to the Captain of Bassein for the time being, to whom the English gentlemen shall ask for them again, and know thereby that neither the capitulations nor the good neighbourship, which we shall also observe, is to be violated.

"That in case any of the deserters should be willing to change his religion, and pass to the confession of the English gentlemen, to prevent their being restored to us, the English gentlemen shall not consent thereto, and the same shall be observed on our part with regard to those that may desert to our countries.

"That although the manor right of the lady, the proprietrix of Bombay, is taken away from her estates if she lives in the island, they are not to be intermeddled with or taken away from her unless it be of her free will, she being a woman of quality, they are necessary for her maintenance. But after death, and her heirs succeed to those estates, the English gentlemen may, if they choose, take them, paying for the same their just value, as is pro-

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vided in the case of other proprietors of estates. And should the English gentlemen now wish to take her houses to build forts therewith, they shall immediately pay her their just value.

"That every person possessing revenue at Bombay, either by patrimonial or Crown lands, shall possess them with the same right, and shall not be deprived thereof, except in cases which the laws of Portugal direct, and their sons and descendants shall succeed to them with the same right and clause above mentioned, and those who may sell the said patrimonial or Crown estates shall transfer to the purchaser the same right and perpetuity they had, that the purchaser may enjoy the same, and their successors in the like manner.

"That the Parish Priests and Monks or regular Clergy that reside in Bombay shall have all due respect paid them as agreed upon, and the churches shall not be taken for any use whatever, nor shall sermons be preached in them, and those who may attempt it shall be punished in such manner as to serve as an example.

"That the inhabitants of Bombay, and the landholders of that island, shall not be obliged to pay more than the Foros they used to pay to His Majesty, this condition being expressly mentioned in the capitulations.

"That there shall be a good understanding and reciprocal friendship between both parties, rendering one another every good office like good friends, as this was the end of the delivery of this and other places, and the intention of His Most Serene King of Great Britain, as appears by the treaty made and entered into by and between both Crowns. Given at Panjim, the 14th January, 1665, (Signed) Antonio de Mello e Castro."

On the acceptance of these Articles, possession was immediately given, and delivery made of the island of Bombay and its port, which comprehends in its situation and territories the villages of Mazagon, Parel, and Warli. The said Governor Inofre, or Humphrey, Cooke, accepted

and received it, saying he did receive possession and delivery of the island of Bombay and its port in the name of the Most Serene King of Great Britain, in the manner and form contained in the instructions from the Viceroy Antonio de Mello e Castro, with all and every declaration, clause, and condition of the said instructions, promising, in the name of the Most Serene King of Great Britain, that there was not, or should not at any time, come any defect in part or in full against this instrument. On the contrary, that he should himself, his heirs and successors, servants, subjects, and ministers comply with the whole of the articles and conditions agreed upon without the least doubt. Saying, assuring, and promising this should be so, he took himself personally the possession and delivery of the said port and island of Bombay, walking thereupon, taking in his hands earth and stones, entering and walking upon its bastions, putting his hands to the walls thereof, and walking also on the said island, taking into his hands the earth and stones thereof, and making all other like acts which in right were necessary, without any impediment or contradiction. He accordingly took possession and delivery of the said port and island of Bombay very quietly and peaceably, that the Most Serene King of Great Britain might have possession and become master (also his heirs and successors) of the said port and island in the form and manner stipulated in the agreement between the two Crowns, and in the instructions from the Viceroy. Further, in order that the inhabitants thereof, gentlemen and proprietors of estates and properties, within the circuit and territories of the said island above mentioned, who pay "foros" to the King our master, may pay the same henceforth to His Most Serene King of Great Britain, who is charged and invested with the possession of the said island, in the manner and form above mentioned. Of all this the said Luiz Mendes Vasconcellos, Overseer of the Royal Estates in general, and Sebastião Alvares Megos, Chancellor of the Court of

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1665. Justice at Goa, and the Governor Humphrey Cooke, ordered this instrument to be made in order to give copies thereof to the parties as they may require, and to register the same in the Book of the "*Torre do Tombo*" (archives) of the city of Goa, and in that of the Chamber of the city of Bassein, and of the Factory of the said city, and at all other competent places. Also to cause all the necessary declarations to be made in those Books, in order to make clear at all times the manner in which this possession was given, and delivery was made of the said island and port of Bombay. And as they thus ordered this public instrument to be made, they, the said Overseer of the Royal Estates in general, and Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos of the Court of Justice at Goa, put their names thereto in testimony of their having made the said delivery and given the said possession of the island of Bombay and its port, and that the said Governor Humphey Cooke had accepted the possession and delivery in the manner aforesaid, with the testimony of those who were present at the time.

These witnesses were the Vereadores of the city of Bassein, João Mendes de Menezes, Dom Luiz Henriques Nicolao Galvão, the judge ordinary Maoel da Silva, the attorney Antonio da Costa Raporo, and the clerk of the Chamber Sebastião Rodrigues da Silva, the Mayor of the city Vicente Rebello de Almeida, and the Factors and Judge Amaro de Azavedo. The Captain of the city of Bassein, Rui Mendes de Vasconcellos Costa, could not be present as a witness to this deed because he was ill and confined to his bed. The English witnesses were Ensign John Torne, John Stevens, Henri Gueri, Richard Ball, Walter Galoper, John Bird, John Folderry, and Thomas Petery. "I, Antonio Monteiro de Fonseca, Notary public of the city of Bassein and districts by the King our master, came here to Bombay at the requisition of the said Overseer of the Royal Estates in general and the Chancellor of the Court of Justice at Goa, the Royal

Minister and those that came to Bombay with powers aforesaid from the Viceroy to give this possession and to make the delivery aforesaid. They ordered and directed me to make this instrument of possession and delivery in the manner and form above related, the Field-Captain of the said city, Valentim Soares, and other noblemen and knights that were present, have also signed this with me, the said Notary Public, who wrote this in my Notarial Book, where the said Overseer of the Royal Estates in general, Luiz de Vasconcellos Sebastião Alvares Migos, and the said Governor Inofre Cooke, Vereadores, Judge Procurator and clerk of the noble city, its mayor and other witness have all signed, and which I have hereunto copied, and I have signed with my public signature, and which is as hereunder as follows. Doubts should not arise on account of several words badly wrote in folios 2, 3, and 7."

Under the convention with the Viceroy of Goa, Mr. Cooke took possession of the island of Bombay without any of its dependencies, and Mr. Gray, one of the Council of Surat, held a muster of the troops and ordnance brought to Bombay from Anjediva. Instead of assisting the English, or enabling them to render Bombay either a retreat for their trade or a place of defence, the Portuguese, by heavy imposts on their boats passing Karanja or Thana, made Mr. Cooke and the garrison immediately feel the effects of being deprived of the dependencies of the island, which had been ceded to the King by treaty. So burdensome was the levy of ten to twelve per cent. duty on the merchandise and provisions which Bombay boats brought from the Continent, that Mr. Cooke was forced to put soldiers on board the boats to resist the demand.

In a letter of the 5th January, 1666, the Viceroy informed the King what had transpired since handing over the island, as follows:—

"During the last monsoon I informed your Majesty I had handed over Bombay. Now I will relate to your

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Majesty what the English have done, and are doing every day in the way of excesses. The first act of Mr. Humphrey, who is the Governor of that island, and whom I knew in Lisbon as a grocer, was to take possession of the island of Mahim in spite of my protests, the island being some distance from the island of Bombay, as your Majesty will see from the map which I send herewith. He argues that at low tide one can walk from one to the other, and, if this is conceded, your Majesty will be unable to defend the right to the other northern island, as at low tide it is possible to go from Bombay to Salsette, from Salsette to Varagão, so that, in order not to lose the north, it will be necessary to defend Mahim. He has done more. He has obliged the Roman Catholics to take an oath by which they openly deny the jurisdiction of the Supreme Pontiff and Head of the Church. The inhabitants of the north would have taken up arms and driven out the English from thence, if I had not had my suspicions and prevented them, by assuring them that your Majesty was actually in treaty about the purchase of Bombay. And, although the name of Humphrey Cooke appears in all these matters, an awful heretic named Henrique Guery, a great enemy of the Portuguese nation, is the author of all these things. I believe, however, that before your Majesty remedies this the Dutch will drive those people from thence, as I am told they are preparing a large armada to besiege Bombay. Humphrey Cooke's replies to me have been full of boasting and bravado, but now they are humble and he asks for help. The State of India is not in a position to help anyone, and were it so it would mean assisting the English against the Dutch, and, as an infallible consequence, your Majesty would lose everything in India. I have therefore ordered the north to be put in a state of defence before the Dutch arrive, and then to act as a friend of both parties. I repeat to your Majesty that it will be impossible to keep the little we have in India unless a great effort on the part of

Portugal and England is made. This would have a great effect on the Dutch, who are sick and tired of everything."

Three years after the date of this letter the King wrote to the Viceroy (26th March, 1669) informing him that he had received a representation from the Council of the Holy Office that the British in the Island of Bombay allowed everyone to live as he liked, but did not permit the Holy Office to carry on their work as they saw fit, by reason of which certain offenders against the faith remained unpunished. This, his Majesty argued, was against the capitulations agreed upon for the transfer of Bombay, and he stated that the Council had sent a protest through their Commissary at Bombay. In conclusion, his Majesty desired that the orders of the Holy Office should be kept, and he commanded the Viceroy to make the necessary representations to the English in Bombay, in order that the said capitulations might be completely carried out. In reply the Viceroy informed the King, on the 24th January, 1670, that he had written to the Governor of Bombay, but had received no reply as yet, "and do not expect one soon, considering Henrique Gary is now governing the place." In another letter of 25th January, 1670, he remarked :—

"Henrique Gary, Governor of the Island of Bombay, is very astute, and an enemy of the Portuguese nation. He wishes that his vessels should be exempted from dues at our ports, and now asks us to pay dues on a frigate which came from Mombassa, and went *viâ* Bombay and discharged at Turumba, a village in the jurisdiction of Baçaim; we are considering the matter with due care, and we think that if these events as well as others had been foreseen, this island would never have been handed over to the English."

On the 23rd March, 1671, the King wrote to the Viceroy :—

"As regards the second million * which has to be paid

* The following is an extract from Pepys' Diary of the 24th May, 1662:

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on account of the dowry of the Queen of Great Britain, my sister, the manner of payment has been settled between the Envoy, Robert Southwell, and the Marquis of Niza and Marialva, and in order that this matter may soon be settled it will be convenient if you send, per first monsoon, a detailed statement of the values of the estates of private individuals in Bombay."

In informing his Majesty that this information would take time to collect, the Viceroy added :—

"The Governor and the Ministers of his Majesty the King of England, who are in Bombay, are most insolent; they are so exorbitant and their demands so vexatious that the inhabitants have been obliged to leave their homes and go to Baçaim and Tanna; and when they complain under the capitulations, they are simply told they must send their complaints to the King of England, as the port is his. They are making a large and opulent city of the island, and as those who go there are those with open consciences, our places and towns are being deserted. If your Highness does not take steps to remedy these evils, all the revenues and commerce of these inhabitants will be extinct, and they will be reduced to the utmost poverty as is the case now in Chaul."

The following proposals were made by Gerald Aungier, Governor of the Island of Bombay and President of the East India Company, under date the 29th December, 1672, to Senhor Luiz de Mendoça Furtado de Albuquerque, Conde de Lavradio and Viceroy of India :—

"1. On the part of the Company and the British Nation the said Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay, &c., undertakes conscientiously to observe and keep the articles of that happy peace which was ratified by the two Crowns

"My Lord (Sandwich) was forced to have some clash with the Council of Portugal about payment of the portion before he could get it, which was, besides Tangier and free trade in the Indys, two millions of crowns, half now, the other half in twelve months. But they have brought but little money, but the rest in sugar and other commoditys, and bills of exchange."

in the year 1661, desiring also that the said Viceroy shall on his part, and on behalf of the King of Portugal do the same, and require the subjects of the Crown of Portugal to obey the said articles.

"2. Considering the interests of both nations to live in peace and be united in bonds of greater friendship, that an alliance be made between them, whereby the said Gerald Aungier on the part of the Company and the Nation, undertakes that the English shall assist the Portuguese in the event of their being at war against the Mogul, Sivaji, or any other Princes of India, the Portuguese to do the same should the English require any assistance.

"3. In order to give the reciprocal friendship more force, it shall be permitted to the English to establish factories in all the cities, towns, and villages in territories belonging to the Portuguese Crown in those parts of India and Asia, paying such moderate duties as His Excellency the Viceroy shall deem reasonable, and which commerce shall permit, because the British prefer to establish themselves in Portuguese ports rather than in those of the Native States; it being understood, of course, that the Portuguese Nation shall be permitted to trade with the English ports, and pay the same duties as shall be paid by the English at Portuguese ports.

"4. That no duties be charged on imports excepting at the port of arrival and landing, and that they be free of all tolls over rivers, bridges, &c., and that punishment be meted out to the Mandovis of Tanna and Caranjá for their unbearable insolence, and the exorbitant duties and taxes which they arbitrarily impose on the subjects of His Majesty the King of England, who shall be allowed to pass and repass, without hindrance, the rivers, &c., it being understood that the Portuguese shall enjoy the same privileges in the Port of Bombay, where they shall move freely and pay no duties or taxes excepting when their goods are landed."

In sending these proposals home, the Viceroy advised

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1677-79. the Prince Regent not to agree to them, pointing out, at the same time, the advantages to the Portuguese Crown, and the inhabitants of the north, which would ensue from the purchase of the port of Bombay, which, although having only a revenue in "foros" of 7,000 pardaos, would relieve all the northern places from oppression.

In consequence of the complaints by the British of the manner they were treated by the Portuguese, King Charles II. addressed a letter to the Viceroy on the subject, dated 10th March, 1677, to which his successor, Dom Pedro de Almeida, replied as follows, in a letter of the 11th November of that year:—

"The Conde de Lavradio, whom I have just succeeded as Viceroy, has handed me the letter your Majesty was pleased to address to him, regarding the question of the Mandovis of Caranjá and Tanna. The Moors give the name of 'Mandovis' to what we call Custom Houses. Caranjá was always the Custom House of the whole *terra firma*, and Tanna of the part of Galliana and Bumdi *terra firma* of the Moors, and Bombay of the district where everyone pays taxes in the form of the ancient 'foros' of the time of the Moorish dominion; and, as the vassals of the Prince, my master, are not exempt from the payment of duties in Bombay, it does not seem right that the vassals of your Majesty should be exempt from paying duties in my Prince's dominions. As regards the 'passes,' we issue them to the Moors and Natives in the usual form."

It appears from a letter which the Viceroy wrote to the Prince Regent, on the 20th January, 1679, that the Governor of the island of Bombay had allowed the officials of his Custom House to demand payment of 100 xerafins in duties on a Portuguese vessel belonging to the port of Thana, which had loaded at Karanjá, on the grounds that that port was within the jurisdiction of Bombay. It was decided to demand the repayment of the 100 xerafins, and, in the event of this not being com-

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1679.

plied with, the Governor of Bombay was to be informed that he would be held responsible for all loss or damage the Portuguese might sustain; and, without actually undertaking hostilities, it was decided to stop all supplies from entering Bombay from Portuguese territories. The Governor of Bombay, however, not only refused all satisfaction, but seized some Salsette vessels, and forced the "Rendeiro do Tabaco" to pay duties to the English. The Viceroy further informed the Prince Regent that the British were carrying on things in a most insolent manner, impeding the navigation of the salt ships and others in the jurisdiction of Bassein; forcing them to pay duties and anchorage dues; and doing the same to vessels of Bandora, Salsette, and Karanjá; allowing several persons charged with various crimes to remain in Bombay; assisting Arabian enemies with powder and arms; allowing certain Native Christians to return to heathenism; forbidding the Ministers of the Church to punish them; ordering crosses to be pulled down; and permitting the erection of pagodas for the heathen, and mosques for the Moors. All these things being, as the Viceroy alleged, contrary to the capitulations, he suggested that the best way to settle all disputes would be for the King of Portugal and the King of England each to nominate a representative, who should come to some agreement and remove all doubts as to the exact terms of the capitulations.

In another letter, the Viceroy complained that the English had taken, and refused to give up, certain lands to which the priests laid claim in Bombay, regarding which, it is stated, the English alleged they were not bound by the capitulations, having conquered those territories anew. The King accordingly directed him to continue to stop all supplies from reaching the English, as, although they might have sufficient for one year, they would be unable to hold out longer, and thus become reduced to such straits as would compel them to grant

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1695-97. what was wanted. "Experience has proved," his Majesty added, "on various occasions, when they have been denied supplies they have acted in all ways in a manner beneficial to our State, and the good of our vassals." In reply to this, however, the Viceroy said in a letter of the 19th December, 1695:—

"These English, directly they become aware that we intend cutting off their supplies, suggest to the enemies that they make some demonstration against our territories, and this they generally do at a season before the crops are fit for gathering, when the inhabitants and vassals of Baçaim, frightened at the idea of war, and fearing they may lose their crops, send them to Bombay for safer custody and a better sale. Thus the British secure larger supplies than they require, and sell the surplus for high prices. This is not all the English do. They supply the enemy (the Arabs) with arms and ammunition, to the great danger of the State, which could scarcely defend itself against its Asiatic enemies."

In reply to this the King wrote, on the 1st March, 1697: "Having noted what you write to me as regards the English in Bombay having sent the Arabs of Muscat powder, shot, and all other necessaries for the equipment of their ships, thus interfering with the peace negotiations which they contemplated entering into, in consequence of the losses inflicted on them by our frigates in 1693, and that they, the Arabs, had carried the British flag and employed British captains in order to avoid seizure, and to be enabled to carry contraband goods; in reply to your question as to what action you are to take in such cases, I would say that at any time that any of our enemy's ships are encountered under the command of English captains they should be seized. I would, however, recommend you to be cautious in these matters, and bear in mind the state of the weather and the forces at your disposal."

CHAPTER XIII.

João Nunes da Cunha appointed Viceroy—His Death—He is succeeded by the Conde de Lavradio—Treaty with the King of Kanara—Death of the Conde de Lavradio—Dom Pedro de Almeida appointed Viceroy—His Death—He is succeeded by Francisco de Tavora — Anjediva taken possession of by the Portuguese—Rise of the Mahratta power in India—Collision between the Mahrattas and Portuguese—Siege of Chaul—Return of Francisco de Tavora to Lisbon, and Appointment of Dom Rodrigo da Costa to succeed him—His Death—He is succeeded by Dom Miguel de Almeida—Treaty with the Bashaw of Bussora—Defeat of an Arab Fleet off Surat—Death of Dom Miguel de Almeida—Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha appointed Viceroy—Despatch of an Ambassador to Persia—Treaty of Peace with the Zamorin—Establishment of a Company of Commerce—Treaty with the King of Sunda—Antonio Luiz Gonçalves da Camar aCoutinho appointed Viceroy—His Death—Portuguese Commerce destroyed by Corsairs—Caetano de Mello de Castro succeeds as Viceroy—Capture of Bicholim—Administration of Dom Rodrigo da Costa—He is succeeded by Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes—War with the King of Kanara—Account of the Mughal Empire—Engagement with Arabs off Surat—Capitulations with the Governor of Bombay — Incursion of the Mahrattas into Salsette — Dom Luiz de Menezes appointed Viceroy — Attack on Por-patan — Capture of Ormuz by the Turks—Portuguese Fleet sent to the Persian Gulf—Portuguese Priests Expelled from Bombay—Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro Appointed Viceroy — Combined Attack on the Angria by the Portuguese and English—Death of the Viceroy, who is succeeded by Dom Luiz da Costa.

João Nunes da Cunha, Conde de S. Vicente, was nominated to succeed Antonio de Mello e Castro as Viceroy of India on the 11th March, 1666. He started for his destination shortly afterwards, and arrived at Goa on the 11th October. On the 17th *idem* he took over the government, and would appear to have enjoyed a period of comparative tranquillity during the brief period he held office, CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1666.

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and his administration seems to have been a wholly uneventful one. He died in India on the 6th November, 1668, and on opening the first Letters Patent the following were named therein a Commission for carrying on the government pending the arrival of a successor to the Viceroyalty: Antonio de Mello e Castro, a relative of the former Viceroy of that name; Luiz de Miranda Henriques, Captain of Diu; and Manoel Corte Real de Sampaio, Councillor of State. These accordingly assumed office and carried on the administration of the Portuguese possessions in the East until the arrival of the Conde de Lavradio.

Luiz de Mendoça Furtado de Albuquerque, Conde de Lavradio, had been nominated Viceroy of India on the 9th March, 1670, but he only arrived at Goa on the 20th May in the following year, and assumed office two days afterwards.

On the 14th February, 1671, three months before his arrival, the King of Kanara addressed a letter to the Portuguese Government in India offering to gives sites at Mangalor, Barcelor, and Onor, for the erection of Portuguese factories. This offer was, however, accompanied by a stipulation that, if accepted, the factories should not be surrounded by double walls, but only by single walls, and that no embrasures or bastions should be erected thereon; also that no oil-mills should be started; that the native weights and measures should be employed; that no one was to be made a Christian against his will; and no Brahmins or cows were to be slain. The King also undertook to give the Portuguese every facility for trade, on payment of the customary duties; and, in return for all these privileges, he asked that the Portuguese should assist him with powder and shot against the Moors and others, and that they should undertake not to help his enemies or give them shelter. In reply, the Viceroy stipulated that the factories should be such as to admit of artillery, but otherwise he agreed generally to the pro-

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1678.

posals, and suggested in addition that the King should compel all Christians living in his kingdom to obey the priests in everything, and that the practice of obliging them to worship in pagodas should be discontinued in future.

After this there would appear to have been an outbreak of hostilities against the Portuguese on the part of the King of Kanara, since, in a Treaty of Peace, Alliance, and Commerce, concluded with him on the 15th December, 1678, his Majesty agreed to pay 30,000 xerafins towards the cost of wars, &c., and bound himself not to make any reference to the losses sustained in consequence of the capture of some of his ships by the Portuguese, whilst the latter also undertook not to demand payment of any overdue tributes or taxes, nor satisfaction for damages and losses caused to the State by the King of Kanara. The King further undertook to supply stone and wood for the erection of a factory at Mangalor; to pay annually, besides the tributes stipulated for at Mangalor and Barcelor, 1,500 sacks of clean rice; to pull down the existing factory belonging to the Arabs; not to allow them to trade in any way with his dominions, and not to send any of his ships to their ports. Besides the establishment of factories at different ports, the King of Kanara also authorised the erection of Roman Catholic Churches at Mirzeo, Chandor, Bhatkal, and Kalyan. Thus it would at first appear that the Portuguese were about to re-establish their position on the west coast of India, and to make up,. in some measure, for the losses recently inflicted upon them by the Dutch; but, as has been remarked by one of their recent authors*: "nevertheless, nought of this prevented the torrent of decadence from pursuing its course, which only stopped at about the middle of the subsequent century, and retroceded then but for a short moment to return anew to its road to perdition."

* "Ensaios sobre a Estatisdica das Possessoes Portuguezas no Ultramar," por Francisco Maria Bordalo.

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1677-82.

The Viceroy, Luiz de Mendoça Furtado de Albuquerque, on his return to Europe, was wrecked on the Shoals of Pinda, but escaped with his life and proceeded to Mozambique. He died on the way thence to Portugal.

Dom Pedro de Almeida, Conde de Assumar, was appointed Viceroy on the 8th April, 1677. He arrived at Goa on the 28th October following, and assumed office two days afterwards. By order of the Court he embarked for Mozambique on the 27th January, 1678, and died there on the 22nd March, 1679.

During the absence of the Viceroy, the Government of India was administered by Dom Fr. Antonio Brandão, the Archbishop Primate, and Antonio Paes de Sande, who had been named in the Patent of Succession, together with the Chancellor Francisco Cabral de Almada, who was now deceased. On the death of the Archbishop in July, 1679, the government was held by Antonio Paes de Sande alone, in accordance with a resolution to that effect passed by a junta of the three States. He continued to act as Governor until succeeded by Francisco de Tavora.

Francisco de Tavora, Conde de Alvor, was nominated Viceroy by Letters Patent, dated 4th February, 1681. He arrived at Goa on the 11th September following, and took over the government on the following day.

When the British forces that had been sent to take possession of the Island of Bombay evacuated Anjediva, that island was left without a possessor. Soon after the Conde de Alvor arrived in India he took possession of that place on behalf of the Crown of Portugal, and erected there a strong fortress, the foundation stone of which building was laid with some ceremony on the 5th of May, 1682. Amaro Simoes was appointed the first Governor of Anjediva, and a Hindu temple that existed there was replaced by a Catholic Church. In later years the island was used as a penal settlement whither felons from Goa, Daman, and Diu were transported.

A new enemy to the Portuguese power in India now

arose, and in course of time deprived that nation of some of the few possessions left to her by the Dutch. About the year 1634, Shahji Bhonsla, a Rajput soldier of fortune, began to take part with the Mohammedan States of Ahmednagar and Bijapur against the Mughals. His younger son, Sivaji, at an early age had associated himself with various lawless characters, and in 1646 he obtained possession of the hill-fort of Torna, a place extremely difficult of access, twenty miles south-west of Poona, at the source of the Nira river. Being in a sequestered part of the country he was left unmolested for some time, during which he occupied himself in strengthening his position. Whilst digging up some ruins in that fort he accidentally discovered a large quantity of gold, which he used for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and for the erection of another fort on the mountain of Mhorbudh, three miles south-east of Torna, to which he gave the name of Rajgarh. Subsequently, by means of bribes and otherwise, he obtained possession of other forts, and increased the number of his adherents, until at last he found himself in possession of the whole tract of country between Chakun and the Nira. Sivaji by degrees formed a national party out of the Hindu tribes of south-western India, as opposed alike to the imperial armies of the north and to the independent Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan, and this military organisation of the local Hindu tribes ultimately grew into the Mahratta confederacy.

The first actual collision between the Mahrattas and Portuguese took place in October, 1670, when a naval engagement appears to have occurred off Daman, in which the Mahratta fleet captured a large Portuguese ship, which they took to Dabhol, whilst the Portuguese, on the other hand, took twelve of Sivaji's vessels and carried them into Bassein.

Sivaji appears to have been impressed with the idea of driving the Portuguese out of India, and he lost no opportunity of molesting them. After having gained a decisive

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1672-83.

victory over a Mughal army in 1672, Sivaji possessed himself of several places in the northern Konkan, and he threatened to drive the Portuguese from the coast unless they paid him tribute. From the vicinity of his army it was expected that he would attack the forts of Daman and Bassein. An attempt was made by a party of Sivaji's troops to surprise the small fort of Goribandar, on the island of Salsette, but they were repulsed.

In 1674, Sivaji sent Moro Punt to Kahan for the purpose of exacting from the Portuguese at Bassein the "Chouth,"* to which he had always pretended a right, of various parts of the Bijapur territory and of the Konkan. It is not known by what means they evaded the payment. The Mahratta histories of Sivaji's life do not state that the Portuguese ever admitted the "chouth," but frequent mention is made of their having paid tribute, and probably some compromise was made on this occasion.

Sivaji died on the 5th April, 1680, and was succeeded by his son, Sumbhaji. In 1682, Sumbhaji laid siege to Jinjira, but was repulsed, at which result he was greatly enraged, and he threatened to punish the English and Portuguese for having maintained a neutrality towards Jinjira. In October his fleet was defeated by that of Jinjira, and he immediately began to carry out his threats against the Portuguese by plundering some of their villages. In the month of June, 1683, he attacked Chaul, but failed to make any impression upon its fortifications. The Portuguese Viceroy did not confine his operations to defensive warfare, but took the field in the month of August, and invaded Sumbhaji's territory with a considerable army, 1,200 of whom were Europeans. The Portuguese in their warfare exhibited greater barbarity than the Mahratta freebooters: they not only carried fire and sword into the defenceless villages, but destroyed the

* Sivaji claimed a fourth and a tenth of the revenues of certain districts, which were termed by him the "Chouth" and "Surdeshmukhi."

temples, and attempted to convert their prisoners by force. CHAP. XIII.

The Viceroy neglected no means of hostility; he had anticipated Sumbhaji's intention of fortifying the island of Anjediva, and now gave orders to some armed vessels stationed there to cruise against Sumbhaji's fleet and distress the trade of Karwar. The Viceroy advanced in person with the army, and laid siege to Ponda. Sumbhaji, who possessed all the ardent bravery of his father, though without his prudence or his talents, immediately marched at the head of an inconsiderable force to raise the siege, and on coming in sight of Ponda, although his numbers were inferior to the Portuguese, commenced an attack on their rear. A.D. 1683.

The fort was at this time breached, and might have been stormed, but the Viceroy, with the ideas of a European unused to Indian warfare, alarmed lest his retreat should be cut off and Goa exposed to danger, immediately resolved upon retiring. He effected his retreat, but at the expense of his camp equipage, stores, guns, and equipments. Twelve hundred of his men were slain, of whom 200 were Europeans.

On arriving at the back-water which separates the island of Goa from the mainland, Sumbhaji, who had headed repeated charges, again led on his horse, intending to have dashed across with the fugitives; but the Portuguese, from a better knowledge of the ford, and from having stationed boats and lined the opposite banks with troops, repulsed the attempt. Sumbhaji rallied his men, and again tried to ford, but although he headed the troops himself, and persevered until his horse was swimming, he was at last obliged to desist, owing to the flood tide.

Sumbhaji, still persisting with his object of crossing over to the island, ordered boats to be brought for the purpose. Two hundred of his men were embarked and transported, when the Portuguese boats coming round, in-

CHAP. XIII. tercepted the return of the Mahrattas, and the enraged troops of the Viceroy fell upon the 200 men thus exposed to their fury and destroyed most of them.

A.D. 1686-91. The siege of Chaul was continued without success; but Karanja was taken possession of and retained for nearly a year. Several places belonging to the Portuguese between Bassein and Daman were attacked and destroyed, whereupon the Viceroy made overtures for peace, but as Sumbhaji demanded five crores of pagodas as a preliminary, they were at once broken off.

Francisco de Tavora left India for Portugal on the 15th December, 1686, and was succeeded in the government by Dom Rodrigo da Costa, in accordance with directions to that effect contained in the first Patent of Succession. Dom Rodrigo da Costa was, at the time, Captain-General of the fleet of galleons in the Indian seas. Nothing of importance would appear to have occurred during his administration; he died in June, 1690, and was succeeded, by virtue of the instructions contained in the second Patent, by Dom Miguel de Almeida. Two other persons besides had also been nominated in that Patent, but as these were already dead Dom Miguel carried on the government by himself.

About the time of the succession of Dom Miguel de Almeida (26th June, 1690), the Portuguese general in the Straits of Ormuz and the Red Sea, Antonio Machado de Brito, concluded a treaty with the Bashaw of Bussora, under which the Portuguese were permitted to enjoy perfect freedom of trade at that port; were not to be subjected to any higher tax than three per cent. upon their commerce, and were to enjoy perfect freedom of religion.

In this year Captain Diogo de Mello Sampaio inflicted a severe defeat upon an Arab fleet off the bar of Surat. This defeat would, it was hoped, put an end to the interference of those tribes with the Portuguese shipping and commerce, but these expectations were not realised.

Dom Miguel de Almeida died on the 9th January,

1691, and upon the opening of a new Patent of Succession it was found that the names of Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lancastre and Luiz Gonçalves Cotta were contained therein. These accordingly took over the government, but Luiz Gonçalves Cotta dying in the following June, the Archbishop Dom Fra. Agostinho da Annunciação took his place in virtue of a declaratory letter from the government of the metropolis.

Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha, Conde de Villa Verde, was appointed Viceroy of India on the 4th February, 1692. He left Lisbon on the 25th of the following month, and wintered on his way at Mozambique. He arrived at Goa on the 26th May, 1693, and assumed charge of the government two days later. He visited the various forts in the north, and more than once defeated some Arab fleets. In a letter of the 8th December, 1695, he informed the King of Portugal that the Sheikh Manna, an Arabian Prince of Arabia, had captured the port of Bussora from the Turks, and as he was desirous of establishing a friendship with the Portuguese, Dom Pedro Antonio was about to send a fleet to the Persian Gulf for that purpose.

Early in 1696, Doctor Gregorio Pereira Fidalgo was sent as an ambassador to Persia to congratulate the Shah on his accession to the Crown, and to ratify with him a Treaty of Peace. In March of the same year secret instructions were sent by the Viceroy to Francisco Pereira da Silva, Captain-Mor of the fleet in the Straits of Ormuz, directing him that should he, on arriving at the straits, receive overtures of peace from the Arabs, he was to reply that his mission was to assist the King of Persia in the war he was about to make against them, and that unless the Arabs gave him satisfaction, the Portuguese would be unable to agree to any Treaty of Peace with them.

A Treaty of Peace was also concluded with the Zamorin on the 2nd September, 1696, under which the latter agreed to provide a site for a church in Calicut; to per-

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1696-97.

mit the re-erection of the Church of S. Antonio de Parulla; to reimburse to the Church all the losses sustained through the robberies committed by the Moors in Calicut; and that none of the Zamorin's vessels should trade with Muscat, or with any other port belonging to the enemies of Portugal.

Another Company of Commerce was established by Royal Decree of the 16th March, 1697, which had an office in Goa. In a letter of the 20th March, the King remarked that it being of convenience that this Company should not be prejudicial, but rather beneficial, to the poor of the city, it should be required to contribute to their assistance to the extent of 60,000 xerafins. It appears that the Company offered to supply 20,000 cruzados for the repair of the royal ships, in addition to a sum of 33,000 cruzados which they had to supply to Mozambique; and in a letter of the 15th March, 1697, the King ordered that the former amount should be increased to 50,000 cruzados. In reply, the Viceroy stated he had done all he could to carry out this order, but without success; not, he remarked, that there was no desire on the part of the Company to obey, but because it was considered necessary for the common good that funds should be provided for the erection of new fortresses, which the King had desired to have constructed on the rivers. This amount was accordingly subsequently reduced to 20,000 cruzados. When first started, few seem to have taken any interest in the Company, but in 1698 it appears, from a letter from Goa of that year, to have been engaged in trade with the north, the south, and with China. This Company ceased to exist on the 14th March, 1701, on account of the loss of Mombassa, where it had its principal trade.

In 1697 an ambassador arrived at Goa from the King of Sunda, and on the 16th August of that year he concluded a treaty with the Viceroy, in accordance with which no vessels belonging to that King were to be permitted to proceed to Muscat either for trade or any other purpose.

The King was to be permitted to have a house at Goa for the sale of pepper grown in his dominions, but not for pepper produced in Cochin; all such pepper and all other produce to be subject to a duty of ten per cent.; but pepper sent to Goa for transhipment to be liable to one-third only of that rate of duty; he was also to be permitted to have ten armed men in his house at Goa for its protection. On the other hand, the King agreed to permit the erection of a house in his dominions; that the priests of the Catholic Church should be exempt from the payment of taxes; and that he would not permit Christians to be made slaves or captives.

CHAP. XIII.

A.D. 1697-98.

Although the Portuguese just now enjoyed comparative peace on land, they were very much harassed by pirates at sea, and, writing to the King of Portugal on the 2nd January, 1698, the Viceroy complained that the seas were so overrun with corsairs that commerce had been seriously damaged, and would be totally destroyed if such a thing were permitted to continue. In the preceding March some Portuguese ships encountered two pirate vessels, which robbed one of the Company's ships, and the frigate "Conceicão" was forced to run into Quilon for repairs. The Viceroy went on to state with regard to these pirates: "They took all the gold from the Company's ship, the men on board the corsairs' ships being chiefly composed of Englishmen. In fact, it is believed that all Englishmen are corsairs, who sell in Bombay all they can steal at sea. If our frigates meet them at sea they produce the Company's papers, and we can do nothing with them; but when they come across our merchantmen they rob them, and the Company then excuse themselves by saying the ships are pirates."

On the 13th May, two Portuguese frigates were met off Ras-el-had by eight Arabian ships, which made for the Portuguese vessels with such force that their flag-ship ran into the stern of one of the frigates, evidently with the intention of boarding her; but in this it was unsuccessful,

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1697-1701.

as its sprit-sail got entangled with the frigate, and the two vessels were locked together for three hours, during which time an incessant musketry fire was kept up. The Arabs lost 200 killed, including the commander, who was the Baly of Matare, and the chief officers; the Portuguese loss was five killed and eleven wounded. The Arab ship eventually disengaged itself, and, having received a parting broadside from the Portuguese frigates, the Arab fleet sailed away.

Antonio Luiz Gonçalves da Camara Coutinho, who had now been appointed Viceroy, left Lisbon on the 11th December, 1697, arrived at Goa on the 14th September, 1698, and assumed office on the 20th *idem*. His administration left nothing particularly deserving to be recorded; after having held the office for three years, he, with the consent of the Court, opened the Patent of Succession on the 17th September, 1701, and delivered up the government to those named therein, viz.: Dom Fra. Agostinho da Annunciação, Archbishop of Goa; and Dom Vasco Luiz Coutinho, Field-Colonel of Infantry of the State of India. Antonio Luiz Gonçalves da Camara Coutinho died in Bahia de todos os Santos on his way home to Portugal.

At the conclusion of the seventeenth century the maritime commerce of the Portuguese in India had become entirely destroyed by the Arab and other pirates that infested the Eastern seas. In their general system of administration little or no advantage had been taken of the revenues from lands adjoining their possessions, and but little encouragement had been given to agriculture. The prospects of wealth to be obtained from their Eastern possessions, once so bright and fair, had become entirely dissipated, and the State was now reduced to a condition of great depression and poverty, "torn asunder by the mean ambitions of fidalgos, intrigues of friars, subtleties of the judicature, and a general corruption." Extraordinary imports exacted for the purpose of carrying on profitless wars had carried distress from village to village, and

raised up a spirit of hostility against the existing order of things. CHAP. XIII.

In 1675 a tobacco monopoly had been established in Goa, and in 1687 a factory and mission of priests "of the Divine Providence" had been established in Borneo. These were well received by the natives, but this extension of enterprise failed to restore the declining prosperity of the Portuguese in the East. A.D. 1703-5.

Caetano de Mello de Castro arrived in India as Viceroy in the latter part of the year 1703, and took over charge of the government on the 2nd October. His administration was chiefly noted for an endeavour to consolidate and extend the Portuguese power in the districts bordering upon Goa. Under his orders the fortress of Ambona, belonging to the Bounsulo, was razed to the ground; in 1705 he took the command in person for the capture and destruction of the castle of Bicholim, and in the following year he subjugated and fortified the islands of Corjuem and Pondem.

On the 19th January, 1705, the Viceroy concluded a Treaty of Peace with the King of Kanara, under which the latter agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Portuguese Government of 1,500 "fardos" of rice; to provide the necessary materials and labour for the erection of a stone factory at Mangalor; and to recompense the State for all the expenses incurred in the late war, in consideration of which it was agreed that all the territories then taken from him by Captain-Mor Manoel Pereira de Castro should be restored.

After the taking of Bicholim from Qhema Saunto, the Viceroy handed over the territories attached to that place and to Sanquelim to the King of Sunda to govern and rule over, and he entered into a treaty with that Chief whereby the latter consented to become a tributary to the King of Portugal and to pay an annual tribute of 1,500 xerafins in either cash, horses, or pepper. In consideration of this, and for promised assistance by the Portu-

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1707-12.

guese against Qhema Saunto, the Angria, or other pirates, that Chief agreed to permit the erection of churches within his territories, and that Portuguese subjects might reside therein without being subjected to the payment of "Juncão" (a local tax).

After an energetic administration, signalled by several victories over neighbouring powers, Caetano de Mello de Castro handed over the government to his successor, Dom Rodrigo da Costa, on the 28th October, 1707, and returned to Portugal.

The administration of Dom Rodrigo da Costa appears to have been singularly uneventful, with the exception of the conclusion of a treaty with the Babu Dessaye of Kudale, dated the 7th April, 1712, which was to the effect that he should not go to war with Ponda, as the Portuguese had placed the King of Sunda in possession of that territory; that the Dessayes who were vassals of the Portuguese should be permitted to remain in possession of their territories; that the Portuguese merchants were to enjoy full freedom in the ports and territories of the Dessaye; that the Babu Dessaye should not trade with the Arabs or allow them to enter his ports; that he should waive all claim to the islands of Panelem and Corjuem; pay 10,000 xerafins towards the cost of rebuilding the church at Revora, and provide the State annually with two Arab horses, or 1,000 xerafins in lieu of the same.

Dom Rodrigo da Costa was succeeded on the 21st September, 1712, by Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes.

Shortly after Vasco Fernandes had succeeded to the government he fell out with the King of Kanara, whereupon he proceeded with a small squadron to Barcelor, and having dismantled the fortress at that place, he burnt all the villages along the river banks, and killed all who attempted to offer any opposition. Calianapor, on the same coast, suffered a similar fate, after which Vasco Fernandes bombarded Mangalor, Comuta, Gocorna, and Mirzeo, spreading terror, fire, and death in every direction.

About this time Fr. Mauricio de Santa Thereza, a Carmelite monk, who styled himself Bishop of the Propaganda, was acting in independent jurisdiction in the Province of Sunda. As this seemed to be detrimental to the Royal patronage, the Viceroy called upon him to leave those territories, on the ground that the jurisdiction of the Primate of India extended even beyond the Portuguese possessions. To this Fr. Mauricio paid no heed, but established the headquarters of his so-called diocese in a pagoda, where he ordained a number of Canarese criminals upon the payment by them of two "Venezianos," each. In informing the King of the proceedings of this man, the Viceroy stated that, but for the fear of placing his Majesty in a position of difficulty with the Pontiff, he would have had the man seized and sent to Portugal. He, however, gave the King of Sunda to understand that if he wished to be on friendly terms with the State he must have Fr. Mauricio turned out of his territories.

At the same time that this independent monk was persuing his own course in Sunda, it appears that some of the regular priests were placed in positions of great difficulty, being unable to obtain houses, and meeting with persistent opposition in their endeavour to build dwellings for themselves. In consequence of this, the Viceroy made the matter a subject for a new treaty, which was concluded in the year 1714, and stipulated that the King of Sunda should not only allow houses to be erected for the priests in every village where there might exist any number of Christians, and that they should have title-deeds given them for the lands granted for that purpose, but also that the "Bishop of the Propaganda" should be required to leave the territory, and that on no account should missionaries or other priests be allowed in the dominion of the King of Sunda, except such as might be in possession of certificates from the Viceroy.

Under date the 14th January, 1714, the Viceroy, in a letter to the King of Portugal, gave his Majesty

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A.D. 1714.

the following account of the condition of the Mughal Empire.

"The power of the Mughal, which is most formidable in India, more by virtue of the grandeur of the Empire than by the value of the nation, has, after having conquered the whole of Hindostan, now advanced to the territories in the close vicinity of this State, and for that reason it is necessary to be on good terms with this potentate, and especially with Xalão, who has hitherto shown himself to be a friend of the Portuguese nation, and in order that the same friendship should continue I resolved to send a representative with courteous congratulations on his succession as eldest son of the King, on the death of Aranseb; although this was not the case with him, inasmuch as he obtained the throne by means of a bloody victory, in which he killed Asantará, his brother, and fourteen other Princes of royal blood. The killed on both sides are reported to have been not less than 150,000.

"The person I sent to congratulate the new King was Padre José da Silva, of the Companhia de Jesus, who left here in November, with the first fleet I dispatched to the north, but he had got no further than Surat, the first maritime city of the Mughal, when news reached me Xalão was dead, and suspected of having been poisoned. He left three sons, who contended for the throne. One of these sons was a Christian, and before engaging in battle asked for the prayers of all Christians, and obtained the victory.

"These unforeseen events caused the priest whom I charged with the mission to suspend his journey, and well for him he did, as a nephew of the new King took up arms against him and defeated him, perpetrating gross cruelties, and decapitating a great number of women.

"The defeated Prince fled to Agra, the chief city of the kingdom, where his nephew followed him, and after a siege had him beheaded.

"This sudden change of government, in such a short space of time, has interfered with our intended plans and

policy, because with such revolutions there could be no safety for travellers, the domestic wars the Mughal was engaged in only permitted him to attend to his personal safety; passports have, however, been obtained by D. Juliana Dias, enabling the envoy to leave Surat, who, nevertheless, still remains in that city by my orders, as his services may yet be required there."

The following letter from the Viceroy to the King, of the 12th January, 1715, gives an account of a battle with the Arabs, which took place in the port of Surat early in the preceding year.

"On receiving news that the Arabs had arrived with a fleet at Surat, I ordered the general of the north to proceed there and attack them, being of opinion that their professions of peace were only a pretext for repairing their ships and then invade the northern territories. The greatest difficulty in the matter was that the port of a powerful and friendly King was defended from immunity. The enemy, however, gave us an opportunity, as they no sooner arrived in the port than they seized a vessel from Macao belonging to the vassals of your Majesty.

"Directly I received the news I informed the Mughal of the insult of the Arabs, and that I proposed to punish them. He not only thanked me, but gave instructions to the Governor of Surat to regard the Arabs as enemies, and help the Portuguese arms. As, however, he delayed in carrying out these orders, he was deposed and his property was confiscated.

"The general commenced the attack on the enemy on the 19th February, 1714. The battle was a most severe and glorious one, lasting from early morn to late at night, when the enemy escaped, but in such a crippled condition that their flag-ship, with all hands, foundered in the gulf, and from trustworthy news which I received from Muscat, lost 1,800 men in the engagement. Our ships sustained some damage to the masts and rigging, and our loss amounted to twenty-eight killed and thirty-four wounded.

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1714-16.

"The Arabs, wishing to avenge themselves of such a serious loss, entered the Straits of Ormuz with some ships, and arriving at Congo, ordered the Governor of the place to deliver up to them your Majesty's 'Feitor' and the Vicar of the Church, and in the event of his not complying with their instructions they informed him they had sufficient power to compel him, and would destroy the whole city. The reply of the Xibandar was an appropriate one to such barbarous insolence, and the Arabs being mortified, and being aware of the small number of Persians in the place, landed, burnt some houses, and sacked others with the greatest ease, when some Militia suddenly appeared on the scene, and, joining the Persians, attacked them with such fury that they took to their ships with heavy loss, including their commander.

"The 'Feitor' and Vicar informed me that the King of Persia feels so aggrieved that he is resolved to make war on Muscat, and to assist him I resolved to send General Francisco Pereira with four frigates to the Straits, as it will be possible to exterminate the Arabs in those ports in the same way as has been done in Surat, and by that means effect the total ruin of these barbarians, who live by commerce; and when they lose their ports, will be forced to come to terms with this State."

On the 19th December, 1716, the Portuguese general, Dom João Fernandes de Almeida, agreed to certain capitulations with the Governor of Bombay, which were to the following effect:—

Any ships and vessels of the King of Portugal that might put into the rivers and creeks belonging to the British Government, and when passing their forts, were not to be compelled to approach them, or to obtain any certificate from the Custom House; but it was agreed that any official might go on board and enquire the name of the vessel and the port whence it had come, but on finding it to be one belonging to the Portuguese State, he was not to prevent or hinder its arrival or departure.

The same attention and privileges were also to be granted to vessels belonging to the King of England and to those of the British Company that might enter the rivers or straits belonging to the King of Portugal. The vessels of either party were, however, to pay the duties that might be in force on any goods landed.

CHAP. XIV.

A.D. 1717.

All caffres, soldiers, slaves, or other fugitives from either side were to be restored on being demanded by the governors and generals respectively.

In the year 1717, Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes opened the first Patent of Succession, and in accordance with the instructions therein contained, handed over the government to Dom Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha, the Archbishop Primate, and then took his departure for Portugal. Dom Sebastião assumed the administration on the 13th January, 1717, and held office for three months.

During this time the Mahrattas made an incursion into the province of Salsette, and a body of 500 horse rode through the district without meeting with any opposition. Notwithstanding there were some cavalry and plenty of infantry in that province, the enemy sacked the different towns and retired, carrying with them loot to the extent of 400,000 xerafins, chiefly in silver, besides several sacred ornaments from the churches. Nothing further occurred during this short government, with the exception of the prevalence of discontent amongst certain persons who, owing to their birth and previous service to the State, aspired to the government of India. It was indeed stated that the death of Francisco Pereira da Silva, Commander-in-Chief of the Navy in the Straits of Ormuz and the Red Sea, was attributed to his disappointment at not obtaining the appointment of Governor, if even only *ad interim*. The Archbishop-Governor gave the appointment vacated by Francisco Pereira's death, subject to confirmation by the King, to Dom Lopo Joseph de Almeida, who was an admiral of the same fleet.

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1717.

Dom Luiz de Menezes, Conde de Ericeira, having been appointed by the King as Viceroy of India, left Lisbon on the 17th April, 1717, reached Goa on the 9th October following, and took over the government from the Archbishop seven days afterwards. Before taking over the government, the Conde de Ericeira, having heard from the commander of the northern provinces that thirteen ships from Muscat, supposed to be Arabian, had made their appearance off Diu and Daman, prepared a fleet of five sail, which he placed under the command of Dom Lopo Joseph de Almeida. The instructions given to Dom Lopo Joseph were that he was to cruise along the northern coast, and render what assistance might be necessary to the ports along that coast. After this he was to proceed to Surat, in order to prevent the Arabs from leaving their ports, and then to Por-patan, a free and strong port not far from Diu, which for the past nineteen years had failed to pay the annual sum of 2,000 xerafins to the State, which it was under an obligation to contribute in consideration of the passports issued to its ships by the authorities at Diu.

On his arrival at Por-patan, the commander sent on shore to demand of the Diwan the payment of the money due, and gave him a short time within which to produce it. This allowance of time, however, was made use of by the people of Por-patan by making preparations for a defence. The commander receiving no reply to his demand, landed a force on the 31st December, 1717, which, after some unsuccessful attempts, took the place by storm and forced the Por-patanes to retire to their stronghold. The city was then reduced to ashes, and all the boats on shore were destroyed. The Por-patanes lost over 1,500 men killed and wounded in the engagement, and were forced to give hostages for the 38,000 xerafins due to the State, and to agree to conditions of peace dictated by the Viceroy. The loss to the Portuguese was a little over eighty men, including several officers. The fleet con-

tinued to cruise during the summer off the coasts of Sind and Cambay, where it took several prizes. CHAP. XIII.

In the year 1718 an engagement took place off Anjediva, between four of Angria's * vessels and two Portuguese ships which were convoying some merchantmen; after a stubborn fight the enemy was defeated and retired. In the same year the Kings of Assarceta and Ramanaguer † invaded the villages of Daman, capturing cattle and taking the cultivators of the soil prisoners. A Portuguese force went in pursuit and drove the invaders before them as far as Fatapar,‡ which place they burnt, but they were unable to save the captives. The King in his flight fell from his horse and was killed. His nephew, who succeeded him, sued for peace, which was accordingly agreed to. A.D. 1718.

In the same year, 1718, a vigorous war was being carried on between the King of the island of Sumba,

* Kanoji Angria, the son of Tukoji, a Mahratta Chief of the family of Angria, first attained eminence in the service of the Raja of Satara about the year 1698, and subsequently distinguished himself in the war in the Konkan carried on by the Mahrattas against that portion of the Muhammedan dominions. Taking advantage of his own power, and of the dissensions in the Satara family, he attempted to make himself independent, and succeeded so far as to retain in his possession the whole of the seaports from Viziadrug to Kolaba. Thence his fleets crept out to plunder indiscriminately the vessels both of native traders and of European merchants, and for half a century the Angria pirates were a terror in the Bombay seas. After Kanoji's death the sovereignty reverted first to his eldest son Sakoji, then to his second son Sumbhaji, and finally to his third son Tulaji, with whom the power of the dynasty came practically to an end. The Bombay Government, who had previously endeavoured on several occasions to dislodge this horde of pirates, but without success, determined, in 1755, to make a renewed effort, and in March of that year dispatched Commodore James with an expedition for this purpose. Suvarndrug and Bankot were captured, and a demonstration was made against Ratnagiri; but the final blow to Tulaji's power was not delivered until February in the following year, when a fleet under Admiral Watson, with a land force commanded by Lieut.-Col. Clive, bombarded and captured Gheria (Viziadrug), his chief stronghold. Tulaji fell into the hands of the Peishwa, who was acting in conjunction with the British; and the power of the Angrias came virtually to an end. Their piracies occasionally gave trouble down to the Treaty of Bassein (1802), after which they ceased altogether, while the family of the once powerful chieftains dwindled gradually into insignificance.

† Assarceta, or Sarceta, five leagues to the north of Daman. The King of this place was named Virgire or Virgi. Ramanaguer is the name of a range of hills not far from Chaul; it would appear from the context in the Portuguese Records that the King of Ramanaguer was named Choutia.

‡ Fatapar, or Fatehpur, a city in the State of Dharampor, not far from the frontier of Daman.

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1719.

about forty leagues from Timor, and his brother. The former asked the Portuguese to assist him, which request was complied with, and the rebel Prince was defeated. After this the King became a vassal to the Crown of Portugal.

About this time new opportunities presented themselves for the recovery by the Portuguese of their position in the Persian Gulf.

The Shah of Persia having recently lost Ormuz, which had been taken by the Turks, and Bahrein by the Arabs, sent an ambassador to Goa to request the assistance of the Portuguese against those enemies. Accordingly a fleet was sent to Bander Kongo, in February 1719; and on the 4th August an Arab fleet appeared off that port. On the morning of the next day both fleets weighed anchor and put out to sea. The fight commenced at 9 a.m., and continued until 7 p.m. At the beginning of the engagement the Arabs were to the windward, but the Portuguese attacked them with such fury that they were forced to put about, and the Portuguese then gradually got to windward of the enemy. The enemy was forced to retire, which, however, they did in good order, and advantage was taken of the night by both sides to repair damages. The engagement recommenced at 6 a.m. the next morning, the enemy proceeding through the straits followed by the Portuguese fleet, and a running fight was kept up for the entire day until night again separated the combatants. At daybreak the next morning the enemy was discovered at some distance, but on the Portuguese fleet giving chase, retired precipitately, declining to renew the battle, and took refuge amongst the islands and shoals of the straits, where the Portuguese, unaccustomed to the navigation, were unable to follow. The next day (the 8th August) the enemy being no longer in sight, the Portuguese admiral returned to his original anchorage in the Port of Kongo. The loss of the enemy is supposed to have been 500 killed and wounded, whilst the Portu-

guese had only ten killed and thirty-five wounded. News shortly afterwards reached the Portuguese admiral that the Arabs had put into the Port of Jalfar, twenty leagues off, to repair and await reinforcements, both from Muscat, and from the English and Dutch, who were said to be at Bander Bassein, and he accordingly resolved to seek them out at their anchorage, for which purpose he started with four ships on the 27th August. On the 29th he came in sight of the enemy, who at once retired, being chased by the Portuguese, but night coming on the fight only lasted one hour. On the 30th, the day broke with a calm and the enemy in sight, but it was not until mid-day that the wind freshened sufficiently for the vessels to approach one another. At 1 p.m. the battle commenced, and by nightfall the enemy had been completely routed. On the 31st, the two fleets again came within sight of one another, but the Arabs took to flight, chased by the Portuguese, who, from want of wind, were unable to overtake them. All through the next day the chase continued, and on the 2nd September the Arabs finally retired from the straits and took refuge in their own ports.

This signal defeat of the Arabs was followed by riots in Muscat; and the death of the Imaum, who was succeeded by his nephew, was followed by an attempt on the part of the latter to negotiate a peace with the Portuguese, which, however, the latter declined to agree to. Finding that the King of Persia, who had been successful in his domestic wars in consequence of this maritime diversion, gave no sign of besieging Muscat, as he had promised to do, the Portuguese fleet wintered in the Persian ports, and withdrew to Goa at the end of the year.

In the following year (1720) the Viceroy made all the necessary preparations for the recovery of Mombassa, which had been taken from the Portuguese by the Arabs in 1699; he also constructed a fort at Daman, and rebuilt the fort of S. Lucia at Diu, as well as the one at Bassein. In this year there was a great influx of people, chiefly

CHAP. XIII. artisans, into Diu, and the trade and commerce of that port greatly increased in consequence.

A.D. 1720. About the same time serious friction occurred between the Portuguese and English authorities, for which the general of the north appears to have been to a great extent responsible. It was commenced by an order of the Governor of Bombay of the 31st May, 1720, directing all the Portuguese priests to remove themselves from the island, and placing in their stead the Bishop Dom Frei Mauricio de Santa Thereza and four Carmelites. This was considered an infringement of their rights by the Portuguese, who claimed for their King absolute control over all the Catholics in India, but the present action of the Governor of Bombay appears to have been adopted owing to the fact that the Portuguese priests assisted in enticing away soldiers and slaves from the island, and in other respects often gave occasions of complaint to the administration.

By the action of Luiz Goncalves da Camara Coutinho, the transport of all supplies from Portuguese territories to the island of Bombay had been prohibited, and some cows that had been purchased at Balgatte were prevented from being taken thither. Against this action, the Governor of Bombay, under date the 17th June, wrote a strong protest, requesting that fresh orders might be issued for the free exit and entry of goods and persons in their respective territories, and threatening that if this were not done, he would, very reluctantly, be obliged to issue orders for a similar treatment towards Portuguese subjects. In reply Luiz Goncalves observed that "if the friendship between the two nations is to continue, there must be reciprocity": he expressed regret for certain excesses that had been committed in Bandora, and stated that, in order to avoid a similar occurrence, he had issued instructions forbidding anyone from the island of Bombay to land, and remarked that these instructions would be all the more easily complied with if the Governor of Bombay would prohibit anyone

from going thence to Portuguese territory; and he concluded: "As you despotically govern that island, a similar jurisdiction from my superiors empowers me to do the same in these parts; and, therefore, you should not be surprised at the obstructions I have placed on your mails and passengers from the island; and the same thing must be understood as regards the cows, which, it is said, were bought at Balgatte."

The expulsion of certain Portuguese priests from the island being reported to the Viceroy by the general of the north, he issued the following proclamation, which was dated Goa, 19th July, 1720:—

"As it has come to my notice that Charles Boone, Governor of Bombay and President of the British Company in Asia, entirely forgetting the ancient power and direct dominion of the Most High and Powerful King of Portugal, my master, of his Royal patronage which was so well recognised in the 4th and 11th articles of the Treaty of Free Gift, which Dom Affonso VI., King of Portugal, made of the island of Bombay to the King of England, has made the violent innovation of admitting Frei Mauricio de Santa Thereza, of the order of Barefooted Carmelites, and who, it is said, has been nominated Bishop and Apostolic Vicar in certain parts of the East; and as the said Governor of Bombay Castle, Charles Boone, against all the faith of solemn treaties, has of late introduced into the Portuguese churches of the island the above-mentioned Frei Mauricio de Santa Thereza, and other friars of the same order and nationality, and the Council of the said island has given one of them Episcopal jurisdiction, and appointed the other priests, ruthlessly expelling the Portuguese friars of the Order of St. Francis, priests in that island, in order to introduce into the churches, which they conducted with such dignity, some Italian friars, which is not only an act so full of insolence towards the Royal Patronage and Jurisdiction of the Archbishop and Primate of India, but is also a matter of offence,

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coming, as it does, from the English, who are of a different religion; and as the ignorant people, when they see the aforesaid Frei Mauricio de Santa Thereza and the other friars, his followers, in the Bombay churches, might consider they had the right and jurisdiction which they profess to have with the assistance of violence on the part of heretics—

"I forbid all Portuguese and native vassals of his Majesty, as well as all Roman Catholics in the island of Bombay, to recognise as bishop and priests the aforesaid Frei Mauricio de Santa Thereza, and the other Italian friars, who have insolently been put in possession of those churches which, without any right or jurisdiction, they have usurped. Should any of the aforesaid vassals of this State, whether Ecclesiastic or Secular, from the date of this Proclamation, take orders from, be married by, or in any other manner assist the above-named intruders in the churches, and usurpers of the jurisdiction which they have obtained with such scandalous assistance of the said heretics, they shall be deprived of citizenship, and for ever prohibited from entering any territory in the Portuguese dominion, and all his property shall be confiscated. I also command the captain-general of the north to prohibit all commerce with the island of Bombay, to patrol the rivers with armed men and boats, and to seize all persons, without exception, who propose going over to the island; to confiscate all sorts of supplies, wood, and any other goods which may be intended for the island.

"The same penalties apply to those who may come from the island to our territories; half the spoil to be the property of the officer in charge of the capturing party, and half to the men under him. Those who are captured shall be whipped and put in the galleys for five years, and, if of noble birth, they shall pay the sum of 1,000 xerafins in lieu of working in the galleys, and shall be transported for five years to the fortress of Diu.

"The aforesaid penalties shall be incurred by the mas-

ters and crews of the ships on board of which may be found any offenders against this edict."

The Governor of Bombay also wrote to the Portuguese Viceroy, protesting against the action of the general of the north in this matter. The latter too, on receipt of the above quoted proclamation, expressed his conviction to the Viceroy that the penalties therein specified would be insufficient to induce the English to make restitution of the churches. He also remarked that as they were already providing themselves with supplies by means of their vessels from without, it would be impossible to impede their action in this respect without a fleet. Luiz Goncalves da Camara Coutinho further expressed it as his opinion that it would be unwise to do anything that might lead to hostilities with England, but only to punish the audacity of the Governor of Bombay, as the despotic action on his part was, no doubt, not in accordance with instructions from England.

Acting, possibly, in accordance with this advice, the Conde de Ericeira, before leaving India, addressed a conciliatory letter to the Governor of Bombay, on the 9th September, 1720, wherein, whilst protesting against the expulsion of Portuguese priests from Bombay, expressed a hope that his successor would maintain terms of friendship with him, at the same time, however, pointing out that such friendship could neither be sincere nor lasting unless the Portuguese priests were reinstated in their former churches; but, he added, "in the event of misdemeanours on their part, then turn them out and punish them." The Viceroy concluded by stating that he had written to the general of the north, requesting him to renew the same good feelings which had always hitherto existed between the two nations.

The Conde de Ericeira was, as has been above related, endeavouring to strengthen and consolidate the Portuguese power in their several remaining settlements in India, when the new Viceroy, Francisco José de Sampaio e

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A.D. 1720-21.

Castro, arrived at Goa on the 12th September, 1720. He had left Lisbon on the 13th of the preceding month of April, and took charge of the government on the 14th September. His predecessor sailed from Goa for Portugal on the 5th January, 1721, and the vessel in which he went was convoyed as far as Cape Comorin in consequence of news that had been received to the effect that pirates had been seen off the Indian coast.

The first act of the new Viceroy was to send a fleet, with a body of picked men, to the northern provinces to strengthen the Portuguese possessions in those parts; he then made preparations for a vigorous attack on Angria, and invited the assistance of the British, of whose vessels that pirate had made several prizes of late. Charles Boone, the Governor of Bombay, sent Robert Cowan to Goa to make arrangements as to the conditions of alliance. He arrived there on the 20th August, 1721, when he concluded a treaty under which the British * undertook to

* The report on this transaction, which must have been sent home, is not now in existence amongst the India Office Records. The following account is taken from a history of the wars with Angria, written by Clement Downing, an officer of the ship "Salisbury," which was engaged in the attack on that pirate. "In consequence of a representation by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the King and Council with reference to Angria, his Majesty appointed a squadron of men-of-war, under the command of Commodore Matthews, consisting of the 'Lyon,' the 'Salisbury,' the 'Exeter,' and the 'Shoreham,' to assist the Honourable Company's Settlements, and to suppress pirates and robbers infesting the Indian seas. This fleet arrived at Bombay in October, 1721. The President determined on an attack on Allibeg, and invited the Portuguese Viceroy to lend his assistance, which he did, and took the command of the Portuguese forces himself. The English forces were placed under the command of Mr. Cowing. The united forces, consisting of about 5,000 men, started from Chaul, whence they marched to Allibeg, and the English commander arranged the army in order of attack, having the Portuguese on the right wing and the English seamen on the left. The day of attack having arrived, the Viceroy of Goa went on board his ship on the plea that he was taken very ill. The commodore sent his own doctor to him, to offer his service and supply him with such medicines as might be necessary, but he returned and reported to the commodore that he did not perceive anything to be the matter with the Viceroy. On the appointed day the whole army advanced to the attack with scaling ladders, 'whereupon the Angrians came down in a great body, with several elephants, which the general of the north perceiving, he broke the order of his wing; and the seamen being employed in storming the castle (which for certain they would have taken had they been properly supported), the whole army fell into confusion. So soon as the enemy saw that the Portuguese were on the retreat, and the whole army was confused, they came down upon them and

supply 2,000 men and five small ships. Kulabo, when taken, was to be the property of Portugal, and the fortress of Griem, thirty leagues to the north of Goa, was to be handed over to the English. A few days before the treaty of alliance was concluded, the Angria wrote to the general of the north, Dom Antonio de Castro e Mello, to say that he was aware of the understanding between the Portuguese and the British, and was determined to resist them, for which purpose he had 20,000 troops of his own, besides those of relations and allies, and that they had, therefore, better settle any differences amicably. He accused the Portuguese of having always provoked war, and asserted that he had never done anything else but defend himself. This letter only made the Viceroy hasten his preparations for war; and the Angria, in spite of his alleged desire to avoid hostilities, continued to fortify his seaports, especially that of Kulabo.

The Viceroy sailed from Goa on the 22nd November, 1721, with a fleet of four ships and six smaller vessels, and arrived on the 1st December at Chaul, where he landed munitions of war for the defence of that place. On the 9th, the Portuguese force arrived at the camp of Madre de Dios, near Chaul, where troops had already been gathering from the northern provinces, and the Viceroy's army now amounted to 5,597 infantry and 125 horse. The English fleet of nine sail, which co-

made a terrible slaughter amongst the English soldiers and seamen; great part of our army was taken, with most of the ammunition thereto belonging. The whole army was now on the rout, and the commodore came on shore in a violent rage, flew at the general of the north and thrust his cane in his mouth, and treated the Viceroy not much better. Thus the Angrians defeated us this time entirely by the treachery of the Portuguese, who seemed to design only to lead our people on and then to leave them in the lurch; this seemed the more probable, for they never once offered to pursue them, but let them march off without any molestation. We got off most of our scattered forces, and what part of the baggage and artillery we had saved, and re-embarked, though we had great numbers killed and wounded.'

"It appears from the Portuguese Records that the Angria was, in 1725, at Peace with the Portuguese, and had returned to the British the prisoners he had made on several occasions."—*Bibliotheca Publica MSS.*, Vol. B, 6-17, fol. 40.

CHAP. XIII. operated in this movement, was commanded by Thomas Matthews.

A.D. 1721-22. On the 16th December the force crossed the River Ragaçaim, and encamped on some heights on the other side. Here they remained until the 20th, when the enemy, making a flank movement, delivered an attack and killed some soldiers, but were quickly repulsed by the Portuguese artillery. On the 21st, the Portuguese forces marched, under the protection of their guns, to a camp on the River Alibaga, and pushed on thence to just outside the range of the guns of Kulabo. Here the enemy had entrenched themselves, and on the 22nd the Viceroy moved up the river and encamped on the heights within range of the enemy, whereupon an artillery duel commenced. On the 23rd, the Angria's army marched as if to attack the Portuguese position, but was driven back by the heavy fire of their artillery. On the 24th the English general, Robert Cowan, marched with 500 men to the gates of the city, and after throwing 180 grenades into the place, retired towards the river. On the 28th, the Portuguese camp was strengthened by means of a palisade, and on the 29th some skirmishing took place. The Viceroy was now taken ill, and, on the advice of his doctors, went on board his ship, leaving the command to Dom Antonio de Castro e Mello and Robert Cowan. On the 30th, the Angria was reinforced by 6,000 horse, which were sent to him by Bagi Rao.

On the 1st January, 1722, the general, Bagi Rao, sent word that San Raja, his lord, was a friend of the Portuguese, and that he really had no intention of assisting the Angria against them, although it was his duty to help his vassals; all he wished for now was that the Viceroy and the Angria should come to terms and conclude a peace. The Viceroy, perceiving he could do nothing against the enemy, who had such a superior force in point of numbers, listened to this proposal, and

agreed to a cessation of hostilities pending negotiations, each party handing over to the other five officers as hostages. CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1722-23.

After a conference lasting several days, an agreement was concluded to the effect that all the territories under the Portuguese Crown should be exempted from tribute, either to the Angria or to the Mahrattas; that the merchandise of the Sarcar which might be sent to Portuguese ports should be exempt from dues, as well as all Portuguese merchandise sent to the ports of the Maharajah; that Portuguese captains should in future abstain from giving convoy to the ships of the enemies of the Mahratta; that assistance should be mutually rendered by the one to the other whenever required; and that all vessels seized by either party should be returned. This document was dated from the camp of Alibaga, the 9th January, 1722.

This agreement, it was stipulated, was to be also binding on the English nation, as an ally of the Portuguese, and was to be ratified by them within eight days. The ships set sail on the 17th January. The Portuguese fleet carried the Viceroy to Goa, where he arrived on the following day. The Governor of Bombay sailed soon after for England, and was attacked *en route* by some of the Angria's ships, which he drove off, and would have captured had not night set in.

After the conclusion of this treaty nothing of any great moment occurred to disturb the peace with the Portuguese for some little time. Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro died on the 13th July, 1723, whereupon Dom Christovão de Mello, who was named in the first Patent of Succession, assumed the government, which he held until the 3rd September following, when a fresh Patent arrived from the court in which the following persons were named: the aforesaid Christovão de Mello, Dom Ignacio de Santa Thereza, the Archbishop Primate, and Christovão Luiz de Andrade, Chancellor of the State.

CHAP XIII. These then took over charge of the administration until the arrival of a new Viceroy.

A.D. 1724-25. Dom Luiz da Costa having been named the new general of the north in 1724, he set sail from Chaul for Bassein with 150 men. Immediately on arrival there he took possession of the government of that province, and his first care was to place Bassein in a proper condition of defence.

In the beginning of the following year, news was received from China that the Christians there were in great distress, owing to the Emperor having given orders for the destruction of all their churches and the expulsion of missionaries.

The empire of the Mughal was about this time thrown into great confusion, and much discontent prevailed amongst the people owing to the life of vice and luxury led by the Emperor. One result of this was that Kilis Khan, a Mughal general, rebelled, and having collected a force of 80,000 horse, he drove the Mahratta San Raja some distance from the Portuguese frontiers. The Vizier, in the name of the Mughal, ordered Akan-Duran at the head of a powerful army to oppose Kilis Khan, which, joining with the army under San Raja, engaged Kilis Khan in a fierce engagement, in which the latter claimed to have had some slight advantage.

CHAPTER XIV.

Nomination of João de Saldanha da Gama as Viceroy—Invasion of the Karnatic by the Peishwa—Advance of the Mahrattas in the North —Defence of Salsette by a united Portuguese and English Force —Attack on Manora—Treaty with the Mahrattas—Treachery of Angria—Dom Pedro Mascarenhas appointed Viceroy—Defeat of Portuguese by the Bounsulo—Differences between the Portuguese and Angria—Capture of Salsette by the Mahrattas—Siege of other Portuguese Forts by the Mahrattas—Treaty of Peace with Bagi Rao Pradane—Capture of Bassein by the Mahrattas—Capture of Karanja by Sumbhaji Angria—Attack on Chaul—Offer of Chaul to the English—Invasion of Bardes by the Bounsulo—Chaul handed over to the Mahrattas—Appointment of Dom Luiz de Menezes as Viceroy—Defeat of the Mahrattas and recapture of certain Forts—Death of the Viceroy—He is succeeded by Dom Pedro Miguel de Almeida e Portugal—Recovery of more Fortresses from the Mahrattas—Capture of Alorna.

CHAP. XIV. A.D. 1725.

João de Saldanha da Gama was nominated by the King to be the next Viceroy of India on the 20th January, 1725. He reached Goa on the 24th October, and took over the government on the 28th *idem*. His administration appears not to have been very eventful as regards the Portuguese power in India. The most important events of this period were in connection with the rapid advance of the Mahrattas and the decline of the Mughal power in the East.

The King of Sunda evaded the spirit of the recent treaty he had entered into with the late Viceroy, and instead of maintaining peace with the Portuguese, he took opportunities of seizing some of their vessels proceeding from the north, and of maltreating some of their vassals. The Bounsulo, Sar Dessaye of Kudale, also continued his depredations by seizing and robbing Portuguese vessels at sea; he further took possession of the fortress of Ponda,

CHAP. XIV. A.D. 1726-30.

which belonged to the King of Sunda, who therefore appealed for assistance to the Viceroy, and with the aid of a Portuguese force the latter was reinstated in possession of that fortress. This occurred in 1726, and in the same year the Peishwa (Mahratta) with a large army invaded the Karnatic, plundering the districts, and levied a contribution from Seringapatam. In the northern provinces, also, the country was in a disturbed state, the Portuguese possessions there being menaced by the neighbouring petty Kings.

In the following year news reached Goa from Persia that the British, taking advantage of the disturbances and wars in Persia, sent two vessels to the Straits of Ormuz, and compelled the Persian refugees in the island of Queixome, Zareca, and elsewhere to pay them the tribute which the Portuguese still claimed as their due. It is alleged that they obtained the sum of 80,000 xerafins from the port of Bandar Kongo.

Up to the end of August, 1730, there had been an absence of news at Goa from the north; but information was then received that the Mahrattas, contrary to their usual custom, had commenced the invasion of the northern provinces in the middle of winter, and had been going about sacking and burning villages. The Fidalgos of Bassein, refusing the assistance of some troops that had been sent to their aid, took upon themselves the defence of Saibana; but without firing a shot or having a man killed, they had surrendered the fortress of Camba to the enemy, together with eight companies of infantry. It appears that upon being summoned by the Mahrattas to surrender, the commander, accompanied by twenty-one horsemen, went to the enemy's camp to treat; but, in spite of a flag of truce which they carried, they were taken prisoners, and upon being conducted before the walls of the fortress, they advised the garrison to surrender on condition of being allowed to leave the place with their arms. This they accordingly did, but they were immediately disarmed and sent prisoners

to Galiana. Only a single tower remained garrisoned by a company of soldiers under the command of a non-commissioned officer, and this was subsequently blown up by the powder in the magazine becoming ignited. By these means the enemy became possessed of twelve pieces of artillery, with which they fortified their positions in the hills. The commander at Bassein sent 300 men to dislodge them, but they failed to accomplish their object, and having carelessly piled their arms on the edge of a jungle whilst they were eating, the enemy approached unawares, seized their weapons, and put them nearly all to the sword.

Shortly afterwards, the Mahrattas having received reinforcements, attacked the island of Salsette, but were repulsed by the united forces of the English and Portuguese. They then endeavoured to obtain terms, but while discussing them they again attacked the island, and were again driven back to the hills with the loss of more than 100 men killed and many wounded.

On the receipt of this news at Goa, the Viceroy sent the "Madre de Deos" with troops to reinforce the several positions mostly threatened by the enemy, but this ship appears to have failed to reach its destination. The Mahrattas, however, made no further serious attack on the Portuguese until the 27th February, 1731, when a body of 2,000 infantry and 500 horse made its appearance before Manora. On the 1st March the enemy gained possession of the neighbouring country, and cut off the water supply to the fort. Manora was then one of the least fortified places in India, and the officer in command was a certain German of renown, called Dom Francisco Baron de Gallenfelds. In spite of the heavy fire kept up from the town, the enemy succeeded in constructing entrenchments within pistol-shot of the palisade, which constituted nearly the only fortified protection to the place. The garrison, too, within the fort was not sufficiently strong, numerically, to admit of their making a sortie against the enemy with any reasonable prospect of success.

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A.D. 1731.

Reinforcements reached Manora on the 5th March, upon which the enemy broke up their camp and retired, taking their guns with them; and on the morning of the 6th a force of 170 Portuguese marched out to a neighbouring village called Amboana, where they found the enemy strongly encamped and protected on one side by a dense jungle. The captain at once attacked the Mahrattas with such determination that they were forced to beat a precipitate retreat, leaving all their baggage and camp equipages behind them.

Subsequently, on the 3rd July, 1731, a treaty was signed at Bassein by Rago Panta, on behalf of the Mahrattas, and Martinho da Silveira de Menezes, the Portuguese Governor of the north, wherein it was agreed between the two parties that the losses on either side, during the recent engagements, should not be further referred to; that the Mahrattas should evacuate all the territories they occupied in the northern provinces, and restore all the artillery taken from the Portuguese; that all prisoners should be exchanged without any ransom; and that the Portuguese should return two merchant ships laden with salt, which they had taken, and any others that might have been captured during the war.

Rago Panta left on the same day that the treaty had been signed for Galiana, on the understanding that he should return with its ratification. Instead of this, however, when he did come back, he brought with him, in place of the ratification, some new proposals which the Portuguese authorities considered too preposterous to be entertained, and he was then and there imprisoned by order of the general. It being clear that his only object was to gain time and wait upon events, the Portuguese resumed hostilities, which they prosecuted with rigour during the months of June, July, and August. On the 2nd October a force of 208 Portuguese and 562 Sepoys arrived at Turumba with instructions to attack the village of Panalla, one of the principal places of the Mahrattas in these parts.

The enemy offered a stubborn resistance for some time, but they were at last driven out, and Panalla was set on fire by the Portuguese. On the 17th January, 1732, representatives of the Portuguese and Mahrattas arrived at Bombay for the purpose of negotiating terms of peace between those two powers.

When the expedition left Goa for the north to relieve the Portuguese positions there, some smaller vessels that accompanied it were forced by stress of weather to put into Guiem, a port of Angria, who, up to that time, had been considered to be on friendly terms. The following morning he took them by surprise, and put almost all the crew to the sword. A larger vessel, having broken its mast, returned to Goa, and after having effected the necessary repairs, it started again for Bassein. Off Dabur,* a port of Sind, by the advice of the captain, they ran in to pass the October moon, and were well received by the Prince, until, accepting his invitation to a dinner, he captured them and seized the vessel. He subsequently sent the men back to Goa, with instructions to inform the Viceroy that he would not give up their vessel until he should have received back two ships of his which the Portuguese had taken from him in former years. On receiving this message the Viceroy gave up the idea of relieving Bassein, and issued a proclamation forbidding all communication with Sind and Angria.

Having obtained permission to return to Portugal, João de Saldanha da Gama opened the Patent of Succession, wherein it was found that the following persons were named therein : Dom Ignacio de Santa Thereza, Archbishop, Dom Christovão de Mello, and Jeronymo Coneia Freire, but as the last named was now dead, Thomé Gomes Moreira was included in the Commission in his place. The Viceroy accordingly delivered up the govern-

* This account is taken from a document in the library at Evora. There seems, however, to be some confusion here as to locality. The port of Dabhol is no doubt meant, as being between Goa and Bassein. The allusion to Sind is obviously a mistake.

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ment to the above named, and sailed from Goa for Lisbon on the 23rd January, 1732.

A.D. 1731-34.

Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, Conde de Sandomil, having been appointed Viceroy of India, left Lisbon on the 26th April, 1732; arrived at Goa on the 5th October following, and commenced his unfortunate government two days later.

The Conde de Sandomil entertained, it appears, but a very poor opinion of the sincerity of the Indians, and acting upon the conviction that their respect for the Portuguese might be measured by the extent to which they stood in fear of them, he determined to take measures for inflicting punishment upon Ramenandra Saunto Bounsulo, upon the pretext of certain charges that had been brought against him by the State. To this end, the Viceroy ordered three companies of troops to enter the Bounsulo's territories. His instructions were duly acted upon, but owing to want of discipline amongst the troops, whilst they were busily engaged in burning and pillaging certain villages, they were surprised by a force of the enemy, to the number of eighty, who defeated them and put them to flight.

Further troubles now also commenced with the Angria. The celebrated Kanoji Angria had died in his fort of Kulabo, on the 20th June, 1729, leaving two sons. In 1731, his son, Sumbhaji, recommenced his depredations by capturing three ships from Daman, and he had the audacity to inform the Captain of Chaul that all other Portuguese ships would be similarly treated. This ill-feeling of Sumbhaji against the Portuguese was no doubt due to the fact that the latter had assisted his brother, Mannaji, against him with some troops, by the aid of which he had obtained possession of Kulabo.

In 1734, Dom Luiz Botelho was appointed general of the north, and he took over the command at Bassein on the 8th May. His first project was to construct a fleet of small vessels for the defence of the coast against the dep-

CHAP. XIV. A.D. 1735-37.

redations and insults of the Angria, who forced the fishermen to pay a certain tribute to him for permission to carry on their business in peace. To this end he demanded a heavy tribute from these same fishermen in order to provide the necessary funds. The demand was, however, considered an act of great injustice by the fishermen, and the collection of the tax had, in many cases, to be carried out by means of force. Six galleys were thus built, but they soon proved to be useless, as they only made one voyage down the coast and speedily became unseaworthy.

Sumbhaji Angria having taken the fortress of Chaul de Sima (called the Casa Branca, or White House) from the Sidi in 1735, and having garrisoned it with 400 foot and 2,000 Mahratta horse, knowing the jealousy with which the Portuguese looked upon the presence of such a force in their neighbourhood, tried to persuade the Governor that the garrison of Kulabo had risen against him, and that he had merely gone for shelter to Chaul with 200 faithful followers, assuring him that it was his intention to hand over the fortress to him. The general, on hearing this news, immediately wrote to the Governor, urging him to take all necessary steps to have the Sumbhaji arrested. Orders were issued accordingly, and a sergeant-major was sent with 250 men to occupy a neighbouring mosque. In this he was not successful, and had to retire; but on the following day he returned with a force of 1,500 men and two guns, and laid siege to the place for twenty-two days, during which several attempts were made to carry it by storm, but in vain. He had finally to retire with a loss of twenty-two killed and thirty wounded, whilst the enemy's loss was 108. The differences between the Angria and the Portuguese were eventually settled through the mediation of the Governor of Bombay.

Not having received some districts promised to them in the neighbourhood of Rewadanda, in return for having assisted in the capture of Kulabo, the Portuguese, in 1737, appeared as the allies of Sumbhaji Angria, against his

CHAP. XIV. A.D. 1737.

brother Mannaji, in another attack upon Kulabo. The Peishwa was sent to repel this attempt, in which he succeeded, and he took Mannaji under his protection, on condition of his paying the yearly sum of 7,000 rupees, and presenting annually to the Raja foreign articles from Europe or China to the value of 3,000 rupees more. This war with the Portuguese led to the invasion of Salsette.

The construction of the fortress of Thana was still in progress in the year 1737, although it had been originally contemplated that twelve months would have sufficed for the purpose, and four years had now elapsed since its foundation. This delay caused great discontent to the people of that town, besides which those employed in its erection were unpaid and unfed. The latter were at last driven to such desperation that they invited the Mahrattas to take possession of the island of Salsette, preferring the rule of those barbarians to their present persecutions and oppressions. The Mahrattas, who had been only waiting for a suitable opportunity, considered that this had now arrived, and one Pantagi Panta, a Mahratta general, proceeded to Galliana Biundi, a Mahratta place five leagues distant from the island of Salsette, with a body of troops which he gradually increased until he had collected a force of 12,000 men, of both infantry and cavalry. News of this collection of Mahratta forces was communicated to the General of Salsette, but he refused to believe it, and made no preparation to resist it. But at four o'clock in the morning of the 6th April, 100 of the enemy crossed over at low tide and captured the fortress of St. Jeronymo with scarcely any resistance, and these were speedily followed by 500 more men. When the Mahrattas entered they found the guards all asleep, so they cut off their heads and then fired two guns as a signal for the rest of their forces to enter. The general, being thus taken by surprise, was unable to offer any effectual resistance, and, after a consultation with his officers, he abandoned the island and retired with all his forces to Karanja. The

enemy soon took possession of all the forts in Salsette; they sacked the places, destroyed the churches, and did other damage without losing a single man or firing a shot. CHAP. XIV. A.D. 1737.

On the following day the enemy marched to the fort of Varseva, with a force of 500 soldiers, thinking it was only garrisoned by fifteen men, but they were repulsed with heavy loss. At the same time they attacked the house at Bandora, a college of Jesuits, which successfully resisted the attack with the aid of some British who were in the pay of that order, and the enemy was forced to retire.

The general, having sent reinforcements from Karanja to Varseva and Bandora, proceeded to Bassein, which he found blockaded. In the neighbourhood of the latter place the enemy had stationed a force ready to enter Casabe directly the island of Salsette should be captured. They being informed by their spies of what had occurred in Salsette, crossed the River Gocarvem, one league from Casabe, on the night of the 6th April, and took that place by surprise. The Portuguese forces fled to the Ilha das Vaccas, and, not feeling secure there, passed on to Bombay. The enemy, following them closely up, immediately took possession of the island, which they commenced to fortify, and, had they continued their march straight on to Bassein, that city would have been placed in a position of great danger.

On the morning of the 7th the captain of the place marched with a company of grenadiers, and four other companies of natives, to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, and was met by a force of 1,000 horse and 2,000 infantry. The Portuguese engaged them for an hour, but were obliged to retire to the fortress, and then made all the necessary preparations for its defence. In the afternoon, the enemy entered Casabe, and immediately began to erect earthworks in the direction of Madrapor. They then attacked the fortress of Parsica, which only resisted for two days, the captain and force

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who defended it, after spiking the guns, escaping one night to Bassein. The neighbouring fort of Trangipara, which was defended by an ensign, resisted with great valour several attacks, and, after the few soldiers which composed the garrison were killed, the ensign gave himself up as a prisoner of war, and eventually escaped from the enemy. A worse fate befel those who abandoned the Ilha das Vaccas, as their ships were attacked and seized by some of the Angria's vessels, and they lost everything.

Having taken the six forts in the island of Salsette, the enemy then proceeded to attack the fortress of Sabajo, which capitulated on the 7th May, after several days' hard fighting.

On the same day that Sabajo surrendered, the enemy again attacked the fortress of Varseva at seven in the morning. In this they were not successful, as, although they got close to the walls, they were completely repulsed by the defenders, and lost heavily in killed. The Portuguese losses were one killed, and the commander seriously wounded. The enemy also sent a force of 3,000 men from Madrapor to besiege the fort of Saibana, which was under the command of the captain-mor, José de Miranda, who capitulated on the thirteenth day of the siege. There was, it is stated, no reason for the capitulation, as the fort had a plentiful supply of provisions and ammunition.

It is alleged that in these attacks the Mahrattas were guided by a Portuguese, who, in consequence of an insult to a female relative, became a Moor at Galiana, and entered the enemy's camp.

The news of the surprise in the island of Salsette and the loss of the fort of Thana, caused great and widespread consternation in Goa. The Governor and Viceroy determined on sending assistance to the northern provinces, and collected 200 men and 150,000 xerafins in cash. These were sent from Goa on the 18th April in the frigate "Nazareth," which, after a short voyage, reached Bassein on the 26th or 28th of the same month.

Antonio Cardim was now appointed general of the northern provinces. He sailed from Agoada on board a British ship on the 18th May, and arrived at Bassein on the 23rd of the same month, taking over the government on the following day. A few days previously, the enemy had fortified themselves on the top of a neighbouring hill, near an old fort which the Portuguese had formerly founded there. The general, being desirous of inaugurating his governorship by a noteworthy deed, determined on driving them from this position, so attacked them with 300 men on the morning of the 26th May, and meeting with a very little resistance, gained the heights, the Mahrattas retreating and leaving several killed and wounded behind. The Portuguese loss was one killed and three wounded. Manora was at this time besieged by the same enemy, and, after a lengthened siege, capitulated, being, it was afterwards alleged, sold to the enemy by its commander for a sum of money. Bandora was next attacked, but without success, and the enemy retreated from before that place on the 5th June.

This conquest of Bandora was all the enemy required to complete the glorious campaign of that summer, and here they received the only check to their successful career, in which they had conquered the island of Salsette and all its forts, together with Manora, Saibana, Sabajo, the forts of Parsica, the Ilha das Vaccas, the hills of Santa Cruz and of Santa Maria, which surrendered after a three days' siege. These successes encouraged the Mahrattas to proceed to further hostilities, and, on the 1st July, they again attacked the fort of Varseva with 2,000 men, but not meeting with any success they retired.

The only places in the north that now remained to the Portuguese were Chaul, Karanjá, Bandora, Varseva, Bassein, Mahim, Trapor, and Daman.

The Mahrattas next turned their attention to Bassein. On the morning of the 8th July, with 4,000 men, they sallied forth from Madrapor with the intention of carrying

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Bassein by storm. The Portuguese fire was, however, so severe that they were forced to retire with a loss of over 200 men. On the 15th September the enemy returned to the attack with 6,000 picked foot soldiers and 4,000 horse. They made several most determined onslaughts for an hour and a half, but were received by the defenders with such a hot fire, and suffered such severe losses, that they saw the futility of continuing the contest, and retired, leaving 120 killed near the walls, besides a number of wounded, whom the general caused to be looked after and their wounds attended to. The defenders' losses were six killed and fifteen wounded; they also captured forty-five ladders.

The Mahrattas had placed Thana in such a state of defence that it was almost hopeless to recover it, whilst Bassein was in semi-state of siege, and the enemy had a force of 30,000 veteran soldiers commanded by Samanagi Appa, a brother of Bagi Rao, commander-in-chief of all the armies of San Raja. It was considered of the utmost importance, therefore, to prepare for a rigorous and well-planned defence, and, in order to carry this out, it was proposed to abandon the forts of Mahim, Trapor, Aserim, Quelme, Secredão, Danu, and Bandora, which were incapable of resisting a siege, and to destroy them, retaining only Bassein, Daman, Chaul, and Diu.

The Viceroy would not, however, listen to such proposals, as he did not consider it right to give up even an inch of land to any one. He was of opinion that they should hold on as long as they could. His opinion prevailed, and an additional force of 1,500 paid sepoys was raised for the purpose of defence.

Owing to the pressing necessities of the campaign, Goa was entirely denuded of troops, and remained with only a few friars, some fishermen, and a small number of black men to defend it. The whole available force there, numbering some 300 Europeans and 1,300 sepoys, having been sent to the north on the 26th January, marched

to Aserim. These arrived the following day, and the enemy, retiring from the neighbourhood at their approach, and fearing the Portuguese would make a descent on Manora, abandoned that fortress, demolishing the works they had erected there. This force then proceeded to Bassein, which place they entered without opposition.

The enemy were fortified in Dongrim, and the general deemed it advisable to attack them there. One of the strongholds near the church was easily captured, and in it were found large quantities of ammunition and provisions. The stronghold on the hill was next taken without much fighting. The town was then assaulted, and, after an hour's fighting, the enemy were completely routed.

General Antonio Cardim, finding it impossible to procure the necessary funds for carrying on the war, and seeing the impossibility of doing anything without money to pay his troops, now tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and he was succeeded by Pedro de Mello as general of the northern provinces.

The new general began his government to the satisfaction of everyone, and reduced the number of sepoys to 500 chosen men. He sent a force to engage the enemy at Madrapor, which defeated them with a loss of sixty killed, the sepoys only losing two killed and fifteen wounded.

In the beginning of July, the enemy took possession of the village of Danda Catal with 2,000 men, where they constructed a fortress with such celerity that they completed it before the end of the winter.

News having reached Lisbon (*viâ* England) at the end of March, 1738, of the loss of Salsette, two ships were hastily equipped, and these, with 480 picked men, sailed from Lisbon at the end of April of the same year, and arrived at Goa safely. The Viceroy now resolved to reconquer the fort of Thana, and for this purpose a fleet was prepared and started for the north on the

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1st November, 1738, arriving at Chaul in twenty-six days, and, leaving some ammunition at that place, reached Bassein on the 29th of that month. On the 4th December, the General of Bassein left with eight ships and thirty small craft, accompanied by 400 picked men and 600 sepoys, and made his appearance off Thana on the 6th *idem*. Being unable to get near enough to take the place by storm, he shelled it for two days, but with no success. He was, however, killed by a shot from the enemy, whereupon the fleet retired to Bassein. Martinho da Silveira de Menezes now succeeded as general.

The death of General Pedro de Mello inspired the enemy with such pride that Samanagi Appa thought of nothing but the conquest of Bassein. Having made the necessary arrangements, he ordered Sancragi Panta to cross the Ghats, and, in the beginning of November, began his march at the head of 8,000 foot and 10,000 horse, with which he entered the jurisdiction of Daman and sacked every place, then marched on to the defences of Catravara, which he conquered, and subsequently captured the forts of Humbargão, Nargol, and Danu. This accomplished, he joined the forces of Casabe, Agasaym, and Madrapor. Sancragi was afterwards sent to besiege Mahim. The first attack on that fort was unsuccessful, and the enemy thereupon retired; but they returned again on the 8th January, 1739, with a force said to have been 80,000 strong, whilst a fleet blockaded its sea-front. The Governor of Bassein was several times appealed to for reinforcements, but he failed to send any. Meanwhile the attack was vigorously carried on, and on the 20th January, the walls having been almost battered down, and there being only ammunition sufficient to last for two more days, the inhabitants called upon the captain to surrender, and he accordingly sent out a flag of truce and capitulated the same day. By the terms of this capitulation the soldiers were permitted to

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leave the place with their guns loaded and taking with them their women, children, clothes, and sacred images; they were granted free passports, and provided with vessels to carry them to Bassein.

The loss of Mahim was speedily followed by capture of the forts of Quelme and Seridão.

The enemy then proceeded with their forces to Trapor. which place they attacked with thirty cannon, and, on the seventh day, gained an entrance, taking it by storm, and putting everybody to the sword. From thence they proceeded to Aserim, which they besieged for four days, and forced it to surrender on the 13th February.

On the 20th January, 1739, news was received in Goa that the enemy was only two days' march from that place, and that he would soon be in Salsette. This caused great alarm, as the city was quite unprepared for defence. On the 26th the enemy entered the province, and was soon at the gates of Margão, and also of Rachol. The sound of artillery was heard during the afternoon and night of that day.

The forces then in Goa were the Viceroy's body-guard of thirty-five men, a company of infantry in the island of Sancto Estevão, 180 seamen, 200 principais,* 500 friars, and some Kanarese auxiliaries, in which very little confidence could be placed. In Bardes there was a company of sixty grenadiers and a company of a light infantry, a very small force indeed for the defence of such an extent of walls, especially as that province was menaced by the Bounsulo, who was then at Alorna with 2,200 horse.

The enemy, with a force of 3,000 horse and 6,000 infantry, encamped near Margão, whence they sent out small detachments to pillage the neighbouring villages, and seized quantities of cattle and provisions. They then attacked the fort and soon gained an entrance, the defenders surrendering on condition of their lives being spared. They next attacked Rachol, but on rein-

* This is probably intended for Sipaes (Sepoys).

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forcements reaching that place, they were compelled to raise the siege, and retired from before it on the 6th May.

On the 2nd May, 1739, the Viceroy concluded a Treaty of Peace with the Bagi Rao Pradane, in which it was agreed that the provinces of Salsette and Bardes should belong to the Portuguese State, with all their fortifications, but that forty per cent. of the land revenues should be paid to the Bagi Rao Pradane. The islands of Corjuvem and Pandeve were to be handed over to the Bounsulo, who was no longer to be required to pay the 1,000 xerafins annually that had been stipulated for in the treaty concluded with his predecessor. The prisoners in Salsette, Bardes, the north, and in Goa were to be mutually set free, without payment or other consideration, and in the event of any prisoners having executed bonds for their liberty they were to be returned. The merchants and inhabitants of Goa were to be allowed to trade freely in the lands of Ponda, which were now claimed as belonging to Bagi Rao Pradane; they were to pay no higher duties than formerly; and were to be permitted to convey their merchandise by river without let or hindrance. And, finally, both of the contracting parties agreed to abstain from interfering with the lands of the other.

By another document, of the same date, the Portuguese were bound to pay seven lakhs of rupees in order to secure the evacuation of their territories by the enemy. Four days later (6th May) another document was signed, under which it was arranged that the war in the north should be settled by the Portuguese handing over Bassein to Bagi Rao, with all its rights and fortresses, the former receiving from him in exchange the district of Daman and its fortresses. In the event of these conditions being carried out, it was stipulated that on the surrende of Bassein its defenders should be allowed to leave with their arms and personal property. On the same day on which this document was signed, the Viceroy sent a copy

of it to the Governor of Bassein with instructions to carry out the engagements therein contained. CHAP. XIV.

The Mahrattas had heard rumours that Bassein had capitulated on the 14th May. These rumours proved correct. On the 10th May the enemy collected a large number of vessels to send to the island of Ivem; three days afterwards mines were fired close to Bassein, and a general attack on the place was made. On the 13th some vessels from Gorobandal hove in sight, and while those in Bassein were watching them three mines were fixed near the bastion of Remedios, the result being a breach large enough to admit twenty men abreast. The enemy made two furious attacks at this place, but were repulsed with heavy loss. More mines were fired near the bastion of San Sebastião, but did not cause much damage. The enemy made several determined assaults during this day, viz., six on the Remedios bastion, and fourteen on that of San Sebastião, but were repulsed each time with heavy loss. The Portuguese losses were very heavy, and as the garrison was but small compared with the attacking force, and the ammunition was running short, the captain of the place decided to make terms with the Mahrattas. On the morning of the 14th he sent a sepoy, with a flag of truce, to ask the enemy to receive some representatives in his camp for the purpose of arranging terms. This was granted. Terms of surrender were then agreed to, and signed on the 16th May, 1739, and were as follows:— A.D. 1739.

"All the regular and auxiliary troops to leave the place with arms loaded and flags unfurled. All the families and people in the place to be allowed a free exit, with all their property and goods. All the ships in the place, with their artillery, &c., to be permitted to leave. The families of all classes to be conveyed to Bombay, Daman, or Chaul. All the priests and others of religious orders who do not desire to remain in the place not to be prevented from leaving. All Christians electing to re-

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main to be allowed to worship God in the manner of their religion. All prisoners to be exchanged. On the day the captain and his troops evacuate the place the enemy to retire to Madrapor. The day for the evacuation to be Saturday, the 23rd of May. The said Samanagi Appa not to enter the place until the captain and his soldiers and others are on board and beyond the range of his guns.

"The said Samanagi Appa, as long as he is in possession of Bassein, to maintain three churches, viz., one at Bassein, one at Casabe, and another in the island of Salsette."

The besieged left on the 23rd May, with all the honours and formalities agreed to.

On the departure of the Portuguese from Bassein the Mahrattas took possession of that place, and testimony is borne to the fact that they faithfully observed all the conditions of the capitulations, permitting all who wished to remain there in peace.

The losses to the Portuguese between 6th April, 1737, when the war began, and the 13th February, 1740, amounted to nearly the whole of the northern provinces, twenty-two leagues in length, viz., from Varseva to Daman, with their four chief ports and 340 villages, and a revenue of over 20,000 cruzados.* They lost, besides Bassein, eight cities, twenty fortresses, two fortified hills, the famous island of Salsette, where was situated the fortress of Thana and the city of the same name, the Ilha das Vaccas, and that of Juem, called Karanjá Island. Daman escaped, as did also Chaul and Diu. In Goa they had lost Salsette. On the Goanese continent Bardes was also lost. The government of the Viceroy was thus reduced to the island of Goa, which is two leagues long (from Nossa Senhora do Cabo to S. Thyago) and nearly six in circumference, Chorão, Piedale, S. Estevão, and Combarjua, and the island of Anjediva, nine leagues south of Marmagão,

* £2,500.

a very small island, simply held to prevent any pirates settling there.

The losses at sea were also very heavy, and of the greatest consequence to the state, whose vessels had formerly been always respected and feared by the enemy.

The value of the implements of war, ammunition, &c., lost in the various fortresses, cities, and ships, exceeded 2,000,000 cruzados,* exclusive of 593 pieces of artillery, several being of bronze and of large calibre.

The expenses during two years of the war amounted to 3,440,000 xerafins,† an almost incredible amount considering the small number of troops engaged.

The island of Karanja had been often menaced by Sumbhaji Angria, who had always had designs on that place. About the year 1739, when the Portuguese were occupied with the Mahratta forces, he thought it a good opportunity to organise an expedition against the island. He accordingly collected together forty vessels well armed, and landed a force of 2,000 men together with some guns and mortars, with which he attacked the fortress with such energy and determination that it surrendered on the 28th March, after a siege of five days. The besieged only lost three killed and some wounded out of a garrison of 100 men. After this the Angria entertained designs against Chaul, which place he besieged at the end of March, with 800 men and three guns. The Governor sent Perseval Machado with a force to attack him from the side of the sea, and Captain Miguel Pereira with 200 men of the Chaul garrison to attack him from the land side. The action took place on the 1st April, and was most successful. The enemy's position was entered, the three guns were spiked, and sixty of the Angria's men were killed. The enemy, having received reinforcements, erected new batteries, which they armed with fifteen guns, with which they kept up a heavy fire, but without doing much harm, so they turned their attention to the capture of the fort

* £250,000.

† About £230,000.

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on the hill (Forte do Morro) which commanded the bar, and formed a camp in its vicinity. The Governor determined to dislodge the enemy, and accordingly on the 5th April he embarked with a force of two companies of grenadiers and 100 irregulars. He disembarked on the quay of the fortress at midnight and joined the garrison. On the 6th, the Governor attacked a church where the enemy had fortified themselves, when the latter were thoroughly routed, losing their guns, eighty killed, and a large number of wounded, besides nineteen prisoners. The losses on the Portuguese side were seven killed and twenty-two wounded. Driven from this position, the enemy made preparations for fortifying their camp at Chaul, whence they advanced day by day until they had made an entrenchment only sixty paces from the Portuguese works. In consequence of the arrival of Manoel Caetano de Souza Ferreira, the newly-appointed commander of the armies of the north, the Angria raised siege on the 18th October, and retired with his forces.

In the following year (1740) doubts began to be entertained as to the advisability of retaining Chaul, owing to the difficulty experienced in providing means for its defence. The preceding year it had been offered to the Dutch, on the occasion when their fleet called at Goa, but nothing was then done owing to the commander not possessing the necessary powers. There was little hope entertained that the English would buy the place, as the East India Company was nearly ruined, and almost compelled to leave Bombay owing to the heavy expenses they were obliged to incur not being made up by trade, in consequence of the numerous captures at sea by the Angria. It did not, therefore, appear likely that they would care to occupy Chaul and so become nearer neighbours to the Angria's brother. However, Captain Francisco Xavier de Vasconcellos, who was accompanied by Luiz de Mello Pereira, proceeded to Bombay to treat of the matter, and in case he should not effect the sale in the manner pro-

posed, he was to offer part of the artillery of Chaul in payment of the loan obtained for the subsidy of the troops which had been in the island.

Towards the close of his administration, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas had to repel an invasion of Bardes, undertaken by the Bounsulo, after which, on the 27th February, he concluded a treaty of peace with that Prince, whereby it was agreed that the Portuguese ships should refrain from interfering with the Bounsulo's vessels, which were in the habit of sailing every year to Muscat for horses; and that the Portuguese should supply the Bounsulo with powder and (when required to do so) at the market price. The respective fleets of the two powers were not to interfere with each other, and Portugal was not to harbour the enemies of the Bounsulo. The island of Corjuem was to be recognised as the property of the Bounsulo, and the island of Panelem as belonging to Portugal, on the understanding that no fort was to be erected on it. In return for the surrender of Panelem to Portugal the village of Pirna was to be ceded to the Bounsulo.

Besides the difficulties caused by the Bounsulo, the Angria had also been attacking the Portuguese by sea, and had destroyed one of their squadrons.

The resources of the government were in such straits that, in order to save Goa, it had been deemed necessary to hand over Chaul to the Mahrattas. The treaty under which this last-named concession was made is dated the 18th September, 1740, and contained the following stipulations :—

" The Balagi Bagi Rao Pradane agreed to withdraw his troops from Salsette and Bardes, and to deliver the fort of Cocalim to the Portuguese in the same condition in which it was when captured; the city of Daman and the fort of S. Hieronimo were to be retained by the Portuguese, who were to receive also from the Bagi Rao the Pergunnah Naer; the Portuguese ageed not to interfere with the jurisdiction of Bassein, Daman, Salsette, Bellaflor, Karanjá,

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Chaul, and Morro; nor to molest the territories of Salsette, Bardes, or Pergunnah Naer, nor to concern themselves with the districts of Ponda, Zambaulim, Panchamal, Saundem, and Bidnur; they further agreed to assist the Bagi Rao with their fleets, should the latter be at war with the Angria; and to deliver up the city of Chaul, with all its artillery and ammunition. The gates of Chaul were to be guarded by British* troops until advices should be received that the people of the Bagi Rao had retired from Salsette and Bardes."

Dom Luiz de Menezes, Conde da Ericeira, and first Marquez de Louriçal, was now appointed to succeed the ill-fated Dom Pedro Mascarenhas as Viceroy of India. He reached India on the 13th May, 1741, and took over charge of the government on the 18th of the same month, whereupon his predecessor returned to Portugal. This was the second time he had held that appointment, having previously been in India in a similar capacity between the years 1717 and 1720.

The new Viceroy had been accompanied from Portugal by a strong reinforcement of European troops, with which he retrieved, in some degree, the losses that had been sustained by his predecessor. He lost no time in making war against the Mahrattas, upon whom he inflicted a signal defeat on the fields of Bardes, which resulted in the restoration to the Portuguese of five fortresses, including those of Sanguem and Supem. He also regained the province of Salsette; and having captured the fort of Ponda, he greatly strengthened that important strategical position.

Unfortunately, the victorious career of Dom Luiz de Menezes was cut short by death before he had long held the reins of government, but during his short administration he did much towards restoring the reputation of the

* Negotiations for this treaty were carried out for the Portuguese by Captain James Inchbird, under instructions from the Governor of Bombay, Mr. Stephen Law.

Portuguese arms in India. He died at Panelim on the 12th June, 1742. CHAP. XIV. A.D. 1742-46.

On opening three royal letters of declaration for the succession to the government of the State, the following names were found, viz.: Dom Francisco de Vasconcellos, Bishop of Cochin, who was at the time in his diocese, but returned to Goa on the 20th December, and died there on the 30th March following; Dom Lourenço de Noronha, Councillor of the State, who was then Governor at Mozambique, and who arrived at Goa on the 18th May, 1743; and Dom Luiz Caetano de Almeida, who was the only one to take charge of the government on the death of the Viceroy, and who carried on the administration, first in conjunction with Dom Francisco de Vasconcellos, and subsequently with Dom Lourenço de Noronha.

This commission continued in power for rather over two years, during which time but little of any importance occurred to affect the position of the Portuguese in India. On the 22nd September, 1744, Dom Pedro Miguel de Almeida e Portugal, Conde de Assumar, first Marquez de Castello-Novo, and afterwards de Alorna, arrived at Goa from Lisbon, and assumed possession of the government, as Viceroy, two days later. Under his administration the advance of the Mahratta forces was, to some extent, checked. He carried on a war against them, and succeeded in recovering the fortresses of Bicholim and Sanquelim, with their adjacent territories, and on the 26th October, 1746, the Dessayes of these provinces swore faithful allegiance to the King of Portugal. In consideration of this vassalage, it was declared, on behalf of the King of Portugal, that these Dessayes should be permitted to possess all the same rights and privileges they enjoyed under the Bounsulo; that all the Bounsulo had deprived them of should be restored; that the State should pay for 800 Sepoys for the use of the Dessayes, in proportion to the number of the people under them respectively, at the rate of four rupees per Sepoy per mensem, and for ten officers

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at the rate of thirty pardaos per mensem, all of whom were to be duly qualified, and to be at the service of the Viceroy whenever they might be required. The Dessayes were to be at liberty to maintain their pagodas, and to worship in accordance with the rights of their religion, provided they did not interfere with Portuguese missionaries, or the erection of churches within their territories. The Viceroy further undertook that no cows should be slaughtered, either in the pagodas or in the grounds adjoining them. The Dessayes were to come to no understanding with the Dessayes of Kudale without permission from the State; and all the "foros," customs dues, revenue from tobacco, &c., of the Dessayes' estates were to be paid into the treasury of the Portuguese Government.

On the 5th May, 1746, the Viceroy was personally present with an expedition which captured the stronghold of Alorna, for which act he received the title of Marquez de Alorna; he also subsequently took the fortresses of Tiracol and Neutim, and the stronghold of Rarim. Thus, when in 1750 he handed over the government to his successor, the power of the Portuguese in the territories bordering upon Goa had become far more strong and consolidated than he had found it at the beginning of his administration. The government of the Marquez de Castello-Novo e Alorna is deservedly looked upon as a brilliant episode of the declining years of Portuguese power in India, and he as one of the best and most successful Viceroys of that period.

The following extract from a letter by the Marquez, of the 2nd November, 1746, gives a detailed account of his capture of Alorna, which was looked upon as one of the most brilliant feats undertaken by the Portuguese arms during his government:—

"Alorna is on a river which at the spot is called Poroacão, and the same river which runs close to the fort of Colvale and falls into the sea near Chaporá. It is one of the

enemy's greatest strongholds, and it occurred to me that if I succeeded in capturing it I could then march on Rary or Bicholim.

"Many difficulties presented themselves. There was a great want of carts, wagons, and beasts of burden. Ammunition and all other requisites are here carried by men, who besides being of a weak constitution, drop everything at the first report of a musket and beat a hasty retreat.

"On the 3rd of March, however, I gave the commander of the land forces, M. Pierripont (a Frenchman), orders to march. His force was made up of six companies of grenadiers and seventeen companies of light infantry, in all about 4,000 men. In addition to these men, 80 horse, 150 artillerymen, 1,000 Sepoys, and a company of sharpshooters (? Chasseurs) made up the force, which on that day assembled on the heights of Revora, a village four and a half leagues from Nova Goa.

"On the morning of the 4th, a forward march was made, and on the same day I sailed down the River Colvale with twenty-seven vessels of various sizes, having given M. de Pierripont orders to march the land forces at such a speed that the attack by sea and land should be simultaneous.

"After the space of ten hours, the two forces arrived, and a general attack ensued.

"I caused my grenadiers to land and attack the trenches by a flank movement. So well was the attack carried out that the enemy was speedily dislodged, our losses being one killed and seven wounded.

"Our forces were not sufficiently numerous to besiege the town, so we decided to make one supreme effort to storm it.

"At three in the morning of the 5th May, my forces silently advanced, and having placed a bomb near the main gate, it was blown up, and our men commenced to enter the town in the face of a heavy fire from the enemy's

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muskets. Our losses were enormous; most of the men being killed and many wounded, among the latter being Pierripont, who, nevertheless, continued bravely to encourage his men.

"A general escalade and furious attack was made on the castle, and after several hours' fighting the governor of the place was informed that if he wished his life to be spared he must surrender at once. His reply was, as might have been expected, with his usual arrogance, a flat refusal, and added that he would give us the same kind of reception which we had been given at Aldoná.

"The castle gate was now attacked with redoubled vigour, but our losses were greater than ever. Our grenades rolled back off the tiles on to our heads, doing incalculable havoc. Nearly all our officers were either killed or mortally wounded. Our troops now became disorganised through fear and a report that two cannon in the castle tower were loaded with grape-shot. The question of victory or defeat was now in the balance. Delay now only meant ruin. Thanks, however, to the prompt action of Sergeant-Major Pedro Vicente Vidal, who, under a heavy fire, placed a bomb near the castle gate, the latter was blown to pieces, and our men gained an entrance. A hand-to-hand fight now took place, all those in the tower being killed. Our troubles were not yet over, as we found ourselves confronted by another barrier in the shape of a stronger gate. Another bomb, however, burst the gate asunder, and we at last became masters of the castle. The governor, all his officers, and the whole garrison were put to the sword. Such was the fury of our soldiers that they perpetrated acts of the grossest cruelty.

"In the end, after five hours of the hardest fighting, we were the masters of Alorna and its castle, on which we hoisted the flag of your Majesty, and thus lowered the pride and arrogance of the Bounsulo.

"The soldiers with one accord gave it the name of Santa

Cruz de Alorna, and erected, as a thanksgiving for the victory, a cross in front of the castle gate. CHAP. XIV.

"Having repaired the damage to the fort, and entrusted the command of the same to Lieutenant-Colonel José Lopes, I marched on Bicholim, which the enemy abandoned at our approach." A.D. 1746.

CHAPTER XV.

Francisco de Assis, Marquez de Tavora, assumes the Government—Account of the State of India—Administration of the Marquez de Tavora—His Return to Portugal after Handing Over the Government to Dom Luiz Mascarenhas, Conde de Alva—Treaties with the Bounsulo and with the King of Sunda—Death of the Viceroy—India Governed by a Commission until the Arrival of Manoel de Saldanha de Albuquerque, Conde da Ega, as Viceroy—War with the Bounsulo—Treaties with the Bounsulo and with Balagi Bagi Rao—Occupation of Janjira and Kansa by the English—Capture of Mandangor from the Mahrattas—Rise to Power of Hyder Ali Khan—Decadence of the Portuguese Power in the East—Removal of the Seat of Government to Panjim—Return of the Conde da Ega to Portugal—Dom João José de Mello appointed Governor—Orders for the Expulsion of Jesuits from India—Establishment of a "Junta da Fazenda" for India—Death of Dom João José de Mello—Appointment of Dom José Pedro da Camara as Captain-General of India—Census of Goa, Bardes, and Salsette—Return of Dom José Pedro da Camara to Lisbon—He is Succeeded by Dom Frederico Guilherme de Sousa—Treaty with the Peishwa Madow Rao—Capture of Bicholim and Sanquelim from the Bounsulo—Capture of the Island of Salsette by the English—Rebellion in Daman—Report on the State of Goa—Establishment of a Department of Agriculture—Dom Frederico Guilherme de Sousa hands over the Government to Francisco da Cunha e Menezes, and Returns to Portugal.

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1750.

Francisco de Assis, Marquez de Tavora, left Lisbon on the 28th March, 1750, and having arrived at Goa, he took over the government from his predecessor on the 27th September following. The Marquez de Castello-Novo e Alorna, before departing, drew up a very able document, in which he gave, for the benefit of his successor, a very lucid and valuable account of the state of India during, and at the end of, his administration, which was to the following effect:—

"The King of Canara is more rich than powerful. The traffic in rice with the whole of Malabar and part of Muscat is the cause of a great influx of money into his kingdom. We have in his dominions a factory at Mangalor. We have been at peace for some time now with this Prince, and it is of the utmost importance to us that this peace and friendship should be preserved inviolate. It may seem absurd to say that this potentate is much more rich than powerful, but such is the case, for the money, as fast as it comes into his kingdom, is hoarded up in his treasury, and no use is made of it at all. He will not permit any fortifications to be erected in his dominions, in case they should at any time be invaded and the enemy establish himself in them.

"Nor has he a large army, so that his expenses are not heavy. During the last two years the Angria has twice invaded Mangalor and Onor, and sacking these ports has carried off some valuable booty. To prevent a third invasion, he has informed me that he proposes to build a fleet.

"The Samory (Zamorin) was formerly the most powerful King on the Malabar coast, and the greatest enemy the Portuguese ever had. To-day, however, he is considerably weakened, and almost ruled by the Moorish inhabitants of his kingdom. In Calicut we have a factory.

"The Nabobs of Quitur and Xaunur, beyond the Ghats, and vassals of the Mughal, have not many relations with us, but we are nevertheless at peace with them, and may consider them to be our friends.

"The King of Sunda is a pliable and peaceful Prince, full of vice and drunkenness, which he inherited from his father. If you have any negotiations with him you must prepare yourself for a great deal of patience, such is his indolence and procrastination. You must know that the British have an agent at Sundem, the Court of the King of Sunda, who is endeavouring to come to an agreement

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1750.

with that King whereby all the pepper may be supplied to them, and they may again obtain a settlement at Carwar, from whence they were some years ago expelled by the Sundas. They also are negotiating a treaty with the Nana, whereby they may send their ships to his ports. Should the British succeed it will mean ruin to us. Carwar is only twelve leagues from Goa, and once again in English hands it will be a refuge for our deserters. You will have seen from my letter to the King of Sunda that I reminded him of the Treaty of Peace, which distinctly stipulates that no European power shall be permitted to possess a settlement at Carwar, and I therefore request you to do all in your power to frustrate these British negotiations. The best way to prevent the English from obtaining a footing in the kingdom of Sunda is to keep in touch with his ministers by bribing them.

"The Angrias commenced their depredations a little before the government of the Viceroy Caetano de Mello e Castro. The two brothers divided their dominions thus: One of them, Talagy Angria, established himself at Guriem, near Goa; the other one, Managy Angria, at Kulabo, nearer Bombay. The former's territories are closely surrounded by the Nana's dominions, and he therefore was ever anxious to obtain our friendship. On several occasions he has requested me to send him assistance against the Nana, but I have never sent him any, as he is a drunkard, and a man not to be trusted. In fact, I have always considered it unadvisable to enter into any compact with him as long as he has such a formidable enemy as the Nana for his neighbour.

"The reigning families in Mahratta are divided into two branches. The first Prince is Xaú Raja, with his Court at Satara; the other, Sambagy Raja, at Calapur. Xaú Raja, taking advantage of the decadence of the Mughal Empire, now governs the vast territories from the kingdom of Cambay as far as Bengal. Sambagy Raja's territories extend from those of Talagy Angria to the

uttermost confines of Canara, the Kings of Sunda and Canara paying him very considerable tributes.

"Many a time have the Mahrattas sued for peace or proposed treaties, but with such vague conditions that I never came to terms with them. They always demanded the restitution of their territories, and if these requests were once granted, they would again become as insolent as ever, and we should once more have to go over the same ground.

"Before proceeding any further I will give you my reasons for not prosecuting the conquest of the whole dominions of the Kudale Dessayes. It is my opinion that all incursions into such territories of the enemy, which have no sea-board, are useless, and if I captured Alorna it was for two reasons: the first was that it was accessible by means of a winding river; the second being that it was a stronghold in the very heart of the country, and I considered that if it was once captured, it would almost mean a death-blow to the Bounsulo.

"Should the Bounsulo come to terms, and agree to surrender the district from Sanquelim to the Arandem river, with the fort of Tiracol, we shall be satisfied, and prepared to cede him Rarim and Neutim, which are on the coast, and will therefore always be at the mercy of our shipping in the event of the enemy becoming aggressive.

"I have given you a description of the various potentates, both enemies and friends of this State, it now remains for me to describe to you the mode of warfare carried on by these people."

* * * * *

"Before concluding my remarks on the friendly and inimical natives I would call your attention to the following points:—

"When the Marquez de Louriçal arrived here for the second time as Governor, he found Ponda, Goddo, Sanguem, and Diguim occupied by the Mahrattas. He decided at once to expel them, and commenced operations at

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1750.

Sanguem, which he demolished. Ponda suffered in a like manner. In my opinion the demolition of these places was a grave error, especially that of Sanguem, as it is at that spot that the enemy make incursions into Salsette, and it is not far from the Ghats, from whence they make their raids. In our hands, the place would be of immense advantage; if not actually as a barrier to the enemy's invasions, it would form a splendid base of operations in the event of a retreat of the enemy.

"You will find yourself, however, in a country which is in a good state of defence. It may be classified in three departments: the first, the islands of Goa, the other two the provinces of Bardes and Salsette. They are well provided with fortresses, but that of Salsette is the one most exposed to the danger of the enemy's incursions. It is true that Rachol is of a very irregular construction, but it is nevertheless capable of holding its own against Asiatic forces. In this province there is also the fort of Mormugão, which protects the mouth of the river, which divides Goa from the said province. This fort was the work of your grandfather, the Conde de Alvor.

"The nations which have settlements in Asia are: Holland, England, France, Spain and Denmark, and all, with the exception of the last named, are represented or governed by Companies.

"The Dutch are our most implacable enemies. They have taken away our best trade and have their eyes on Damão, and twice during my governorship have attempted to take the place by surprise.

"From the English we have received no better treatment. Ever since they declared war against France, and have sent powerful fleets to blockade the coast of Coromandel, they have almost paralysed our commerce in those parts, as well as with Bengal. Commander Thomas Griffin has behaved more like a cruel pirate than a general of an ally; he has ruined us by means of extortion; interfered with our trade, and prevented our Macao ships

from calling at St. Thomé. After this, Admiral Boscawen insulted our nation in the most barefaced manner, by seizing (through a breach of faith) St. Thomé, hauling down the flag of His Most Faithful Majesty, and hoisting in its place that of the British Nation. Besides this he expelled all the Portuguese from the place.*

*An account of this, and the reasons for the proceedings above referred to are given in the following extracts from dispatches addressed to the Court of Directors of the East India Company by their Council at Fort St. David.

Extract letter from Fort St. David, 2nd November, 1749.—"We have sufficient reasons to be fully persuaded that Monsr. Dupleix has been equally industrious to stir up their resentment, which we are more convinced of as Sunda Saib has already picked out the means of making us acquainted with his displeasure, by demanding an immediate restitution of St. Thomé, or he would shortly let us feel the effects of his anger. This place, we must acquaint your Honours, we were under an absolute necessity to take possession of, as the only means that could be used to prevent a growing and everlasting inconveniency that would otherwise have attended your settlement of Fort St. George, for we are creditably informed the French had for a long time been endeavouring to prevail on the Moors for a grant of that place, with a full design to have erected a fort and made a settlement of it, which had they not been obstructed in, as it lyes so near Madras (being scarce two miles asunder), it would by the many artifices they had undoubtedly made use of in the space of a very few years, have encroached so much upon the trade of that place, as we humbly conceive would have tended too greatly to your Honours' prejudice, as likewise that of the merchants there inhabiting; and besides this a far greater evil must unavoidably have accrued at that small distance, and which we are disposed to think was the chiefest advantage they proposed to themselves from it, that is, their having a constant spy over all our transactions, the ill-consequences whereof it must be needless to set forth after what we have so lately experienced. We shall, therefore, only hope, that when this our proceeding has been maturely weighed and considered, and you have been more exactly acquainted with all its circumstances from Admiral Boscawen, whose advice and concurrence we have not wanted therein, your Honours will be fully satisfied that nothing but our perfect zeal to your interest, and the duty we think incumbent on us to maintain and preserve it on occasions, has been the sole motives that has induced us to this step; and we can't but flatter ourselves with the opinion that it will be entirely approved of by you. When we took possession of the place there was a priest, under the name of Father Antonio Dr. Purification, that had resided there for some time, and for whom Monsr. Dupleix had procured a Phirmaund from Chunda Saib for him to act as Havildar, though in reality to be as a spy over all our actions at Fort St. George, as it appeared afterwards by the papers that were seized belonging to him, wherein was discovered such a correspondence to have been carried on between him and Mons. Dupleix, as will evidently make appear to your Honours that our suspicions of him were not without sufficient grounds. These letters and papers are all in the Admiral's possession, and he has promised us to give your Honours a sight of them."

Extract letter from Fort St. David, 6th August, 1751, "St. Thomé appears to us a place of very great consequence, its contiguousness to Madras, should it be in other hands, would greatly prejudice us, as it would affect our sea and land customs, investment and private trade, and be an asylum for our military, who would frequently desert. What pretensions the Portuguese can have to it we cannot perceive, it has been under the Moors for many years; they have not had any government, levied customs, nor hoisted colours there, but such as the ecclesiasticks made use of to decorate their festivals. They may, with equal right, lay claim to their

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1750-54.

"As regards the French, we are on good terms with them, and never have any differences with them. The same remark may be applied to the Spaniards, but as far as the Danish are concerned we have no dealings with them."

The administration of the Marquez de Tavora was singularly uneventful, and during the four years he occupied the Viceroyalty the Portuguese arms were principally occupied in carrying on petty punitive wars with the Mahrattas and others, both by sea and land. In these several encounters they were generally successful, but beyond inflicting punishment upon marauding expeditions these engagements led to no other practical results. The only change of importance during this period occurred in 1752, in which year the government of Mozambique was separated from, and made independent of, the government of India.

In September, 1754, the Marquez de Tavora returned to Lisbon after having handed over the government of India to his successor, Dom Luiz Mascarenhas, Conde de Alva. He returned to Portugal, however, only to meet with an ignominious death on the scaffold, charged with having plotted against the life of the King, Dom José.

The Conde de Alva took over the administration on the 18th September. On the 25th of the following month he concluded a treaty with the Bounsulo, under which missionaries were to be permitted to carry on their labours in his territories. The Portuguese Government under

several settlements which have, by right of conquest, long been the property of others. Upon intelligence we received that such an affair was in agitation, an officer and sixty men were ordered there, and some additions made to a large building to prevent any surprise. This had produced a letter and afterwards a protest as entered in our foreign correspondence from the Baron de Villories, who is deputed from the Viceroy of Goa as a governor for St. Thomé, and is now at Pondicherry concerting measures with Monsr. Dupleix. He is pleased to tell us we should have orders by our ships to deliver it up to the King his master, which orders, we have acquainted him, we shall obey whenever they arrive, but, till such time, shall look upon it as a place belonging to His Britannick Majesty. It does not seem probable that the Portuguese themselves will offer by force to oppose us, but rather the country government will be made use of. As you are pleased to approve of our keeping it, we shall support our right thereto."

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1755-56.

took to protect the Dessayes of Query, Sanquelin, Morly, and all others who had sworn fealty to the State; the Sar-Dessayes of Pragana Kudalle were at once to cede to Portugal all rights to Alorna, Bicholim, the province of Purnem, the castles of Morly and Satarem, and the fort of Tiracol; and, in exchange for these, the cities of Rarim and Neuty, the fruits of the victories of the Marquez de Alorna, were restored to the Dessayes. As the Bounsulo was not in a position to pay for all the damage done to Portuguese shipping during recent years, or the tribute that had been owing since 1739, these debts were cancelled, but he undertook to pay tribute regularly from the date of the signing of this treaty.

In the following year (1755) the government nominated a procurator of the Portuguese in Pondicherry, as it had two years previously appointed an agent for Coromandel. The government also now permitted full religious liberty to the inhabitants of the "Novas Conquistas,"* and gave permission for the erection of pagodas, which had been prohibited in the "Velhas Conquistas" ever since the year 1540.

At the end of February, 1756, a body of Mahrattas invaded Sunda, under the pretext that certain tributes had not been paid to them. The King of Sunda, not being in a position to discharge this obligation, offered to hand over, as security for the same, any fortress in his dominions that the Mahrattas might select, whereupon Ponda was chosen, with a view, it was believed, to its proximity to Goa. Upon learning this fact, the Conde de Alva re-

* The following places were designated respectively the "Velhas" and "Novas Conquistas":—

"VELHAS CONQUISTAS."
Ten Islands of Goa.
Province of Bardes and Tiracol District.
Province of Salsette and island of Anjediva.

"NOVAS CONQUISTAS."
Province of Purnem.
,, ,, Bicholim.
Province of Satary.
,, ,, Ponda.
,, ,, Embarbacem.
,, ,, Astragar.
,, ,, Bally.
,, ,, Chondrowaddy.
,, ,, Cacora.
,, ,, Canacona.
And the Jurisdiction of Cabo da Rama.

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1756.

solved to march to Ponda to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Mahrattas. He accordingly set out with a force in April, but soon afterwards returned without having met with the enemy. Shortly afterwards he set out again by another route, and took up his position on the top of a hill, from whence he commenced to bombard Ponda. His troops, without waiting for orders, seeing that some damage had already been done to the enemy's works, rushed forward to the assault, but they were repulsed with great slaughter. On this the Viceroy ordered the soldiers who were with him to support the others, and placing himself at their head, he led the charge. But, just as they were about to make the attack, a violent storm of rain fell, and as the Portuguese could not stand against the fire of the enemy, nor make use of their arms, which were all wet, they fled in such disorder that many were killed by the sword of the enemy who lay in ambush, and amongst the slain on this occasion was the Viceroy himself, who fell on the 28th June, together with over 100 of his troops who were killed, and about the same number wounded. The army retired, but, although it was not pursued by the enemy, they left the Viceroy's body on the field. It was, however, recovered three days afterwards. The remainder of the army thereupon returned to Goa.

It may be here remarked that the Conde de Alva was the only Governor of Portuguese India who was killed on the field of battle in those parts.

Upon the Patents of Succession being opened, in consequence of the death of the Viceroy, the names of the following persons were found designated therein for the administration of the government: Dom Antonio Taveira de Neiva Brum da Silveiro, Archbishop; João de Mesquita Matos Teixeira, Chancellor of the State; and José Carreia de Sá. As the last named had already returned to Portugal, the seal was broken of the first of the Royal Letters of Declaration, wherein Dom Antonio José da Costa's name

was found; he was, however, already dead, so the second royal letter was opened, wherein Filippe de Valladares Souto Maior was named, who accordingly joined the other two in carrying on the government until the arrival of a new Viceroy.

On the 5th November, the Viceroy entered into an engagement with Tullagi Angria to assist him with 500 troops in a war he was then engaged in with Balagi Bagi Rao, the Angria undertaking to pay those men out of his treasury at the same rate they would have been paid by the Portuguese Government. It would, however, appear that Tullagi Angria failed to fulfil certain of the stipulated conditions, whereupon the Portuguese commander withdrew his men, and retired to Goa. Tullagi Angria complained of having been thus deserted in the face of his enemies, but the Viceroy declared that the commander had committed no act worthy of punishment, inasmuch as he had received special instructions to see that all the stipulations agreed upon were duly carried out.

In the same year a treaty was concluded with the King of Sunda, under which he agreed to pay to the Portuguese 400,000 xerafins, and to make over to them four villages in the neighbourhood of Salsette, and gave them also an assignment of 12,000 xerafins in the Province of Zambaulin, besides undertaking to build, at his own expense, a fortress for the Portuguese in the bay of that name.

Manoel de Saldanha de Albuquerque, Conde da Ega, arrived at Goa on the 20th September, 1756, and took over the government, as Viceroy, on the 23rd *idem.* Four years after having signed a treaty of peace with the Portuguese State, the Bounsulo, on the 9th April, 1758, declared war against them on account of the oppression of the people by taxes, and of their being obliged to buy tobacco at Goa; but, more particularly, it was thought, because, owing to the declining power of the Portuguese, he considered it a good opportunity to regain the fortresses of Tiracol, Alorna, and Bicholim. Pernem and

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1758-59.

Sanquelim were captured by the Bounsulo, but his troops were forced to retire from before the three fortresses above referred to. Had these places fallen, it was feared that the Bounsulo would have been joined by the Mahrattas. The Viceroy now determined to carry the war into the enemy's country; and he accordingly took up a position on the hill Ammona, which he fortified, thus placing himself between the Bounsulo and the Mahrattas, so as to prevent communications between them. The enemy retired to three neighbouring pagodas, where the Portuguese attacked them and forced them to fall back on Sanquelim. Shortly after this the Bounsulo sent to ask for a peace.

The Mahrattas were now at war with the King of Sunda, who sent to the Viceroy for assistance, but the latter was unable to render any aid beyond supplying him with some powder; and he only did this in the hope of eventually getting back the province of Ponda, which had formerly belonged to Sunda.

On the 26th July, 1759, a secret treaty was concluded with the Bounsulo, in which the Viceroy undertook to recommend the King of Portugal to restore to him all, or a portion of, the provinces which he, the Bounsulo, ceded to the State under the treaty of the 25th October, 1754.

In November, 1759, one João Lourenço Vellozo, a Portuguese officer who had deserted from Goa, handed to Mr. Hodges, chief of the English settlement at Tellicherri, a letter purporting to have been written by Manoel da Silva, Provincial Priest of India, to M. Luet, the French Chief at Mahé, offering, in the name of the Viceroy of Goa, to deliver up that city to the French. This letter was given by Mr. Hodges to Vice-Admiral Pollock, who lost no time in sending it, together with an explanation as to how it came into his hands, to the Conde da Ega. This led to further enquiries into the matter, and ultimately João Lourenço Vellozo confessed that he alone was responsible for this base treachery, and

that the letter supposed to have been written by Manoel da Silva was a forgery. CHAP. XV.

On the 26th October, 1760, the Viceroy entered into a treaty with Balagi Bagi Rao, surnamed the Nana, in which the latter undertook to hand over to the Viceroy the provinces of Zambaulim, Supem, Sanguem, and Ponda, in order that the latter might restore them to the King of Sunda, in consideration of which the Viceroy pledged himself to send a fleet with 500 Portuguese soldiers to capture the fortresses of Janjira* and Kansa, which he would then hand over to the Nana, and the latter thereupon bound himself to pay 100,000 rupees each year to the King of Portugal, secured upon the tribute payable by the King of Sunda. At the close of the enterprise the Nana bound himself to give an additional 50,000 rupees to the Portuguese troops. When, in accordance with this agreement, the Portuguese fleet, which went to assist the Mahrattas, arrived off Rajapur, on the 21st February, 1761, they found the British flag flying over the two fortresses of Janjira and Kansa, and an English fleet in the harbour. Wind failing, the Portuguese vessels cast anchor outside the harbour, and they were there visited by a British naval officer, who proved to them, by documentary evidence, that the fortresses had already been surrendered by the Sidy to the English.† A.D. 1760-61.

* Janjira, forty-four miles south of Bombay, and Kansa Island and fort about two miles from it, off the district of Nandgaon.

† The following extract from a letter from the Governor and Council of Bombay, dated 4th April, 1761, gives the English account of this event:—

"128. The Sciddee of Gingerah, forced by the distress that place was in, came here in a private manner on the 1st December, notwithstanding the strict injunction we laid on him last season, and we finding, from the succours sent the Morattas from Goa, that it must fall into their hands without we assisted him, we resolved in consultation the 9th December to supply him with provisions, stores, and some ready money, altogether amounting to twenty thousand (20,000) rupees, but in such manner as not to give umbrage to the Morattas. On the 12th of that month the President laid before us the Sciddee's mortgage bond of his houses, &c., at Surat, and revenues under Gingerah to your Honours for the supplies we had and might afford him, and on the 24th February he likewise presented translate of letter from the Sciddee, setting forth that the Portuguese were sending further succours to the Morattas, offering to deliver Gingerah and Consaw to your Honours, and declaring, if we did not accept it, he would invite the Dutch or some other Europeans to support him; and we, considering that the

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1763.

Early in 1763, the Mahrattas having captured a Portuguese vessel coming from Macao, the Viceroy induced the King of Sunda and the Bounsulo to assist him in punish-

Portuguese might probably seize upon the place for themselves, and that the President last year told Govin Seurum Punt, we would not allow it to fall into improper hands. We appointed Mr. Byfeld, Major Gouin, and Mr. Hornby, a committee to proceed to Gingerah with your Honours' ships 'Neptune,' 'Guardian,' 'Fox Ketch,' 'Syren Snow,' 'Dolphin,' 'Shark,' 'Bonetta,' and 'Otter Gallivats,' with proper detachments of military, to confer with Ramajee Punt, assuring him that our design in sending those gentlemen was only to interpose as mediators between the Sciddee and Nannah to accommodate their differences in an amicable manner, but that if, notwithstanding the Committee's endeavours for that purpose, Ramajee Punt would not withdraw his forces, they should acquaint him we were determined to hoist the British colours both at Gingerah and Consaw till their differences might be properly adjusted. The Committee set out the 2nd ultimo, and under No. 62 is copy of our instructions to them, wherein your Honours will perceive the place is assigned over to you, and that the President wrote a suitable letter to Ramajee Punt also that we were in hopes he would be induced to raise the siege immediately, in which case we instructed the Committee to return, after leaving such a detachment as the Major might think proper, and getting the principal Sciddees to join with their Master in signing an obligation that they would never permit any Europeans but the English to settle or carry on any trade there, or in any other part of their dominions, which was immediately consented to, and the Committee, soon after their arrival, having certain intelligence that the Portuguese fleet were in the neighbourhood, consisting of a frigate, a small galley, a sloop, and Munchuas having four hundred (400) Europeans and Mustees, and two hundred (200) Coffrees on board, hoisted our colours at Gingerah and Consaw; and Ramajee Punt declaring afterwards that, unless the two principal Sciddees were brought to Bombay and the forts of Gingerah and Consaw garrisoned by our people, he would not withdraw his forces, and Ramajee Punt Bawa, who it was said was sent by Nannah to supersede him in the command of the army, being averse to it without an absolute order from Poonah, We, on the 10th ultimo, took into consideration the Committee obliging the Morattas to retire without reach of the guns from Gingerah and Consaw, but, as Ramajee Punt Bawa alleged that he waited for orders from Poonah, we directed them to declare that, in consideration of that circumstance, if he did not withdraw his forces by the 25th ultimo, we should consider it as an insult to our colours. The President at the same time dispatched a letter to the Regency at Poonah, desiring that orders might be immediately sent Ramajee, through our Agent there, to be delivered Ramajee by the Committee for withdrawing his forces, declaring that we should put the above construction on their refusal. The Committee, having acquainted us that one of the redoubts opposite to Gingerah Fort, and within gunshot, was garrisoned by Portuguese sent from Goa, tho' our colours were hoisted there, and deeming it very inconsistent, as we are not at war with that nation, we ordered the Committee to inquire of the commanding officer the reasons of it, and to acquaint him that, if he did not immediately withdraw his men, they should treat him as an enemy, and, providing he declined retiring in a reasonable time, to oblige him, making Ramajee previously sensible of our resolution; however, that garrison withdrew without the Committee being obliged to go those lengths.

"129. On the 9th ultimo, the Portuguese appearing in sight, the Committee ordered Captain Purling to stop up the port of Gingerah, tho' on their writing a suitable letter to the commanding officer not to interfere as the place was assigned over to your Honours, he assured them he should return to Goa with the troops, as he should always endeavour to preserve the friendship subsisting between the two Crowns."

ing them. The King of Sunda promised to send 10,000 men, whilst the Bounsulo was to remain neutral; and as it had been discovered that some of the Mahratta Chiefs were disposed to rise against their Sovereign, a combination was made, and all agreed to meet on a certain day to march together against Mandangarh. The King of Sunda failed, however, to keep his engagement, and only one of the rebel chieftains appeared, with seventy men, the others all remaining neutral. The Viceroy thereupon resolved to act by himself, and to besiege the fortress with his own troops alone. After a siege of fourteen days, the commander of Mandangarh capitulated on the last day of May, 1763, when his troops were allowed to march out with their arms, and the Portuguese took possession of the place, which up to that time had been considered impregnable. The fortress was immediately demolished, and the district annexed to the Portuguese possessions. It was subsequently, by treaty, annexed to Sunda, but garrisoned by a Portuguese force in the pay of the King of Sunda.

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1763.

Whilst the Mahrattas were maintaining their struggles in the Deccan, a new power was rising on the ruins of the Hindu dynasty of Mysore, under the celebrated adventurer, Hyder Ali Khan, which to the southward promised in a very short time, at least, to confine the Mahrattas to their native boundry. Busalut Jung, still hopeful of forming an independent kingdom in the Carnatic, took advantage of the absence of the Mahrattas to plan a conquest of their southern districts, and with this view obtained the assistance of Hyder, whom he appointed Nabob of Sera. Busalut Jung, and his new ally, had reduced Ouscotta, Sera, and Bura-Balapur by the end of 1761. Busalut Jung then retired to his capital at Adoni; but Hyder prosecuted his conquests. In 1762 he reduced, or exacted tribute from, the Polygars of various districts, and in the following year one of his officers overran Sunda, whereupon the King was forced to fly, and, with

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1764-65.

his family, took refuge in Goa. By order of the Court the fortress of Bicholim was delivered up to him, which, however, he restored again to the Portuguese two years later.

In a letter to the King of Portugal, during the period of his Viceroyalty, the Conde da Ega much lamented the decadence of the Portuguese power in the East, and complained that, whereas in former years, no vessel could navigate the Indian seas without their pass, these were obliged now to obtain a similar authority from their enemies and from pirates. He had endeavoured to stimulate the declining trade of Goa by encouraging native manufactures, which had been allowed to die out, and to this end he imported into that city artizans from Thana, Surat, and Cambay; besides which he also introduced the cultivation of the cotton-plant into Goa. Trade was now nearly extinct, and to encourage this he advocated grants from the Treasury, and the provision of a ship of war for the transport of merchandise. He also proposed the establishment of a Company for Bengal, on similar lines to one then existing at Goa. This Company was subsequently started, but it had only a short existence, and was, before long, ordered by the King to be wound up.

The Conde da Ega moved the residence of the Viceroy from Goa to Panjim, which place has subsequently been known as Nova Goa, and has formed the headquarters of the seat of the Portuguese Government ever since, up to the present day. During his administration, also, no less than 221 Jesuits who resided in India were apprehended and sent back to Portugal.

Upon the expiration of his term of office, having heard that his intended successor, Dom João de Lancastre, Conde da Souza, had died at Mozambique on his way out to India, the Conde da Ega opened the Patents of Succession and delivered up the government to those named therein on the 19th October, 1765, and started on his way back to Portugal on the 25th December following.

The persons named in the Patents of Succession were Dom Antonio Taveira da Neiva, the Archbishop; João Baptista Vaz Pereira, Chancellor of the State; and Dom João José de Mello, Comptroller-General of the Exchequer.

These held office until the 12th March, 1768, when Dom João José de Mello was appointed Governor. During his administration several economies were effected in the expenses of the government, one of them being a reduction of the salaries of the Viceroys and Governors to 20,000 xerafins annually; and by orders of the 10th April, 1769, a Junta of the Exchequer of Goa was created.

By an order of the 21st March, 1768, the King had ordered that all the Jesuits in India should be taken prisoners and sent away out of the country at whatever cost might be necessary to attain that end. The Governor, however, reported that although every effort had been made to expel them from India, many Jesuits still remained in the country. Numbers of them, it was explained, lived in the interior, and it was impossible to capture these except by surprise, and this was rendered all the more difficult owing to the sympathy of some of their Asiatic followers.

In consequence of orders from Lisbon, a Company which had but recently started in Mozambique for the purpose of carrying on trade with Daman and Diu, was abolished about the year 1769. In the same year the "Junta da Fazenda," or "Board of Revenue," for Goa, was established; and two years later orders were issued that the administration of the Custom House in that city should be carried on for, and on account of, the State. In 1772, the first Public Courts were instituted in India, and in the following year the appointment of "Intendente da Marinha e dos armazens" (Superintendent of Marine and Dockyards) was established.

Dom João José de Mello died on the 10th January, 1774, whereupon Filippe de Valladares Souto Maior suc-

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ceeded by Patent of Succession, and held the government until the arrival of the new Viceroy.

A.D. 1774-79.

Dom José Pedro da Camara, Governor and Captain-General of India, received his nomination on the 4th February, 1774, arrived at Goa on the 22nd September following, and took over the government two days later. The title of Viceroy had now become obsolete, and Dom José Pedro da Camara and his successors were thenceforward appointed with the title of Captain-General of India.

During this administration a census was taken of the populations of Goa, Bardes, and Salsette, and, as this is the first record of a census I have met with, an abstract of its results is here given.*

Dom José Pedro da Camara returned to Lisbon in 1779, and was succeeded in the government by Dom Frederico Guilherme de Sousa, who entered upon the office of Captain-General on the 26th May, 1779.

On the 17th December, Dom Frederico Guilherme concluded a treaty of peace with the Peishwa Madou Rao, in accordance with which the fleets of the respective parties were not to attack one another at sea, but to provide each other with any necessaries they might require, and to trade freely in their respective ports. All disagreements between them were to be settled by arbitration, and whilst the Portuguese bound themselves not to render assistance to the enemies of the Peishwa, the latter

*CENSUS, 1776.

	Goa.	Bardes.	Salsette.	Total.
Boys of 7 and under	4,067	7,191	7,604	18,862
,, 7 to 15	4,311	7,732	7,559	19,602
Men of 15 to 60	12,638	22,880	20,793	56,311
,, above 60	1,582	1,792	1,575	4,949
Girls of 7 and under	3,483	6,501	6,702	16,686
,, 7 to 14	2,976	5,598	6,435	15,009
Women of 14 to 40	10,746	18,469	19,442	48,657
,, above 40	4,284	7,722	6,577	18,583
Births of 1776	501	1,497	2,160	4,158
Deaths	526	1,354	3,022	4,902
Total ...	44,588	79,382	78,847	202,817

agreed not to help the enemies of Portugal. The Portuguese were not to erect forts at Guzerat, Sant, Cantevad, Surat, or other places belonging to Madou Rao. In consideration of the existing friendship between the two parties, the Peishwa agreed to hand over to the Portuguese certain villages in Daman, of the annual value of Rs. 12,000, on condition that no forts were to be erected in them.

The Bounsulo, having failed for eight years to pay to the Portuguese Crown his annual tribute of 4,000 xerafins, and having made continual piratical attacks on Portuguese merchant vessels, and usurped the rents of the Dessayes, vassals of the King of Portugal, Dom Frederico Guilherme, captured from him, by surprise, the fortress of Bicholim, on the 25th August, 1781. On the following day he took the strong house of Sanquelim, and annexed the territories subject to their respective jurisdictions. On the 1st October, 1782, the Bounsulo collected troops and occupied the village of Gululem, in Bicholim, and the following day he occupied also the villages of Dumachen and Salem. A Portuguese force was immediately dispatched against him. Several skirmishes took place in different villages, with loss to the enemy, who, however, had also entered with a large force into Bardes, burning everything as they went along. On the 22nd, the opposing forces met on the bank of the Macazana river, in Bardes, where an engagement took place, which appears to have been indecisive. The Portuguese followed up the Bounsulo's forces and inflicted upon them several defeats. Reinforcements having been received by the enemy the Portuguese general retired. The troops of the Bounsulo continued to advance, and many of the people of the villages which they burnt fled to the island of Goa for protection. On the 24th November, the enemy attacked the fort of Sanquelim. Reinforcements were sent up, which arrived on the 7th December, and these immediately engaged

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1781-83.

the enemy, who after a fight of two and a quarter hours, were put to flight and their baggage was all captured. After throwing reinforcements into Sanquelim, the Portuguese returned to Bicholim, whence a force was sent to guard the frontier of Bardes, which was threatened by the enemy, and the fortresses of Marmagão, Agoada, and Rachol were garrisoned by auxiliaries. On the 18th January, 1783, the Bounsulo appeared before the fort of Bicholim with 4,000 infantry and some cavalry. On the 6th February, he attacked the fort of Querim, but was repulsed with loss. On the 23rd March, a force of 3,726 Portuguese left Bardes and went against the enemy, whom they dislodged from a neighbouring hill; they then marched against the Bounsulo's camp, near Manacurem, in Bicholim, where he had fortified himself on the summit of a hill, which was speedily captured from the enemy, who, apparently, offered no resistance. The Portuguese then encamped at Alorna, occupying both sides of the river. The main force of the enemy was attacked at Manerim, and totally defeated. The villages of Alorna, Vaidangor, and other places were then annexed and garrisoned by the Portuguese, whereupon the Bounsulo sued for peace, which was granted.

In a letter of the 2nd January, 1781, the Viceroy stated to the King that the English had supplied arms and munitions of war to the Mahrattas, which enabled them to capture the island of Salsette, Bardes, and Chaul, by which the principal houses in Goa had been reduced to great poverty. The reputation of the army of India had also been ruined thereby, as well as the Portuguese trade with that country. Hearing that the English contemplated an alliance with Ragoba, for the conquest from the Mahrattas of Bassein, Chaul, and other villages of the ancient jurisdiction of Daman, the Viceroy sent a protest to the Council at Bombay, wherein he stated that the forts, &c., of the East Indies, ex-

tending from Chaul to Daman had, for two hundred years, belonged to the Crown of Portugal; that although the Mahrattas had captured several of those places nearly forty years ago, the Crown of Portugal refused to surrender its claim to the same, or its right to recover them on the occurrence of a suitable opportunity. It was claimed that, in the gift of the island of Bombay to the English, it had been stipulated that the British Crown should in no case interfere with the Portuguese jurisdiction over the other islands of Bassein, or its land, nor deprive the State of India of its commerce and liberty; but that by the Treaty of Peace, the English were bound to assist the Portuguese, on every occasion they might require aid with the view of recovering their former possessions in the north. The Viceroy accordingly emphatically called upon the Council at Bombay to desist from this enterprise.

The Council of Bombay, in reply, stated that the island of Salsette had been captured by the English troops in 1774, and their reasons for so doing had been fully explained in reply to the protest made at the time by the governor of that place; that being involved in a war with the Mahrattas, they would attack his forces wherever they might be; that the places referred to had been in the Mahrattas' possession for nearly half a century; and that, in an assault upon any fort where the the Mahratta flag might be flying, the English could not stay to consult history before the batteries were opened, to ascertain the ancient possessors of these places, or consider whether they would attempt their reconquest at some future period. The Portuguese, the Council remarked, acquired their possessions in India by right of conquest, and having now lost those of the north, their right to them had ceased in the same manner as it had originated. With regard to the obligations of the English towards the Portuguese, as laid down in the treaty of cession of the island of Bombay, the Council remarked that it was to assist and

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A.D. 1780.

protect them in their traffic and navigation, and that it was clearly defined, in a secret treaty made at the same time, that this assistance was limited to their protection against the Dutch, with whom the Portuguese were then at enmity, and that the articles quoted in no way referred to their ancient possessions in the north. Accordingly the Council expressed themselves unable to accept the protest of the Portuguese Viceroy, and they repudiated all responsibility for any consequences that might result from such measures as might be taken thereon by the Crown of Portugal.

On the 13th June, 1780, the garrison of Daman, having been for six months without pay, and their uniforms being five years old, they were reduced almost to a state of starvation and nakedness, and they accordingly broke out into open rebellion and left their barracks. The Governor thereupon borrowed some money from the merchants, with which he endeavoured to appease them, promising to pay them the balance of arrears on the morrow, but they refused to return until they were paid in full. The troops of the Ragoba and of the English being in close proximity, it was feared that they might attack the place. On the following day, however, the Governor succeeded in obtaining further advances, with which he was enabled to pay the troops up to the 14th May, whereupon they returned to the fort, and all cause for anxiety on this account was, for a while, removed.

Reporting to the King, about this time, on the state of Goa, Dom Frederico Guilherme de Sousa remarked that, on his arrival, he found the city in a most deplorable condition. Entire streets were without houses, and others contained nothing but ruins. The old buildings were all falling into decay, and their owners were not in a position to repair them. Of its old magnificence, Goa had nothing now remaining but the cathedral and the convents; it possessed eighty-seven old and small houses, some of which had floors, whilst others were on the

ground, and nine were unfinished. Amongst the palm-groves there were 350 huts roofed with palm-leaves, in which resided the renters of the palm-trees, tavern-keepers, Caffres, mulattos, and other poor people. The revenues of the Town Senate for the preceding year (1779) had been 39,493 xerafins, and the expenses 38,252 xerafins.

The islands of Goa contained thirty-five villages, which paid a revenue of 83,574 xerafins, and had debts to the amount of 181,503 xerafins.

The provinces of Bardes comprised thirty-nine villages, the revenues of which amounted to 273,699 xerafins, their expenses 125,135 xerafins, and debts 390,013 xerafins.

The province of Salsette had fifty-five villages yielding a revenue of 338,125 xerafins, with expenses amounting to 70,420 xerafins, and debts aggregating 326,176 xerafins.

The number of convents in Goa was ten, in which there were sixty-three nuns, and their aggregate revenues amounted to 39,216 xerafins.

The commerce of Goa was, Dom Frederico remarked, on the decline, because the business of the natives depended almost entirely upon the goods sent out from Portugal, and they were too much wanting in energy to seek other sources of trade. The local produce consisted chiefly of cocoa, areca, salt, and spirits, which were sent to the ports to the north and south in small vessels.

The expenses of the Royal Treasury at this time exceeded the receipts by 200,000 xerafins, whilst the receipts of the Camara were scarcely sufficient to meet the necessary expenses, and the inhabitants, reduced to poverty and misery, had no means of improving their position by increasing their commerce. "Thus," Dom Frederico concluded, "unless the necessary means be applied for re-establishing trade, the place must inevitably soon be entirely ruined."

During the government of Dom Frederico Guilherme

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1786.

de Sousa, a Department of Agriculture was established, primarily for the purpose of giving occupation to the people and for the supply of cheap provisions; and this, it was hoped, would be followed by an increase of rents on an extended cultivation, and thus provide additional means for meeting the necessities of the State.

The Court of Judicature at Goa, which had been abolished by an Act of the 15th January, 1774, was also restored during Dom Frederico's government.

After seven years of successful administration, Dom Frederico Guilherme de Sousa handed over the government to his successor, Francisco da Cunha e Menezes, on the 3rd November, 1786, and immediately afterwards returned to Lisbon.

CHAPTER XVI.

Assumption of office by Francisco da Cunha e Menezes—The Fort of Piro made over to Tipú Sultan—Treaty with the Bounsulo—Occupation of Purnem by the Portuguese—Attack by the Raja of Kolhapur—Treaty with the King of Sunda—Capture of Piro from the Mahrattas—Defeat of Tipú Sultan and capture of Seringapatam by the English—Destruction of the factories of the Portuguese, Danes, and French in Calicut—Return of Francisco da Cunha e Menezes to Portugal—He is succeeded by Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral—Capture of the provinces of Ponda and Purnem—The French Revolution—Close alliance between Portugal and England—Treaty of Badajoz—Alliance between Napoleon and Tipú Sultan—Goa garrisoned by British troops—Appointment of Bernardo José de Lorena, Conde de Sarzedas, as Captain-General—Account of the Churches in Goa—Abolition of the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Goa—Dom Diogo de Sousa, Conde de Rio Pardo, appointed Captain-General—Disturbances in Portuguese India—Deposition of the Conde de Rio Pardo—Appointment of Dom Manoel da Camara to succeed him—His death—Dom Manoel de Portugal e Castro appointed Governor—Restoration of the Monarchy in Portugal—Appointment of Bernardo Peres da Silva as Prefect in India—Fresh Revolutions—Expulsion of the Prefect from Goa—Military Revolt in Goa—Simão Infante de Lacerda, Barão de Sabrosa appointed Governor—Title changed to Governor-General—Death of the Barão de Sabrosa—Manoel José Mendes, Barão de Candal, appointed Governor-General—His death—Arrival of Francisco Xavier da Silva Pereira, Conde das Antas, as Governor-General—He is succeeded by José Ferreira Pestana—Macao and Timor made a separate Government—Insurrection at Sawantwari—Arrival of José Joaquim Januario Lapa, Visconde de Villa-Nova de Ourem, as Governor-General—Encouragement of Education in Goa—Antonio Cesar de Vasconcellos Correia, Visconde de Torves Novas, succeeds as Governor-General—Introduction of the Electric Telegraph into Goa—Ecclesiastical Patronage in the East—The Visconde de Torres Novas is succeeded by José Ferreira Pestana—Abolition of the Arsenal at Goa—Abolition of Slavery in Portuguese dominions—Revised Indian Tariff—Return of José Ferreira Pestana to Lisbon.

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1784.

As has been stated at the conclusion of the preceding chapter, Francisco da Cunha e Menezes assumed the

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1784-93.

office of Captain-General of India on the 3rd November, 1786. Earlier in the year an ambassador had arrived at Goa, from the Mahratta, to propose that the Portuguese forces should join those of the Mahratta and of the Bounsulo, in order to levy war against the Nabob. This offer was, however, declined, as it was suspected that the proposal was only a cunning device of the Mahratta to get possession of Bicholim and Purnem. The Captain-General therefore marched troops to the frontier for the defence of those parts in case of an attack.

On the 11th March, 1784, the English concluded a treaty with Tipú Sultan, immediately after which the latter commenced a system of persecution against the Christians in Kanara. He caused some 30,000 native Catholics to be forcibly circumcised and had them deported to the country above the Ghâts. His animosity appears to have been specially directed against the Portuguese, and, besides driving all the people of that nationality out of Kanara, he caused several of their vicars to be sent to Goa; he also, in other ways, showed his hostility to them generally, and prohibited the supply of rice to their vessels, on the plea that it was all required for his own army. Subsequently, however, on the understanding that all the ports in Kanara were to be open to Portuguese shipping, and that they might be permitted to export rice from thence for the supply of Goa, Francisco da Cunha e Menezes, at the request of Tipú Sultan, restored to him, on the 16th March, 1793, the fort of Piro and adjacent provinces. In a letter dated two days later, however, he admitted that he had acted unwisely in this matter, but it was then too late to recall his decision.

As a defence against any enemies who might descend the Ghâts from the interior, it was thought advisable to maintain the independence of the Bounsulo. The latter being threatened by the Raja of Kolhapur, applied to the Portuguese for assistance, and demanded of them men,

munitions, and money, for this purpose, offering to make over to them the district of Purnem as guarantee for repayment of any expenses that might be incurred thereby. In return, however, for the required aid, the Captain-General demanded, in addition, that the agreement to be concluded for this purpose should also stipulate for the surrender in perpetuity of the *pracas* of Alorna, Bicholim, and Sanquelim, and a portion of the province of Purnem which had already been conquered by the Portuguese. But as the Bounsulo hesitated to accept these terms, the Captain-General threatened to break off negotiations, and to send a body of troops to occupy the province of Purnem. This brought the Bounsulo to his senses, and he accordingly signed a treaty, on the terms thus specified, which was dated the 29th January, 1788.

Immediately after the conclusion of this agreement, orders were given for a Portuguese force to occupy Purnem, and to take possession of it in the name of the Queen, which was accordingly effected on the 4th February.

The Raja of Kolhapur had already captured the forts of Messurim, Neutim, and Vingorla from the Bounsulo, whilst Karim, his only remaining fort, was being blockaded by the fleet of the Melundim, and, in the neighbourhood of his capital, Vaddim, the enemy were burning and destroying everything. On the 5th February a Portuguese force was sent to unite with the forces of the Bounsulo, and on the night of the following day a fleet was sent from Goa for the relief of Karim. This force succeeded in driving off the fleet of the Melundim, whereupon the Raja of Kolhapur also retired from Vingorla and Neutim, and the fort of Messurim was recaptured by the Bounsulo.

Upon the retirement of the enemy, the Bounsulo failed to press the advantage he had already gained, by pursuing and thoroughly routing their retreating forces, but he fell into a state of inactivity, relying entirely upon the Portuguese to protect his territories from further invasion.

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1789-90.

Some of the forces of the Raja of Kolhapur next descended the Ramaghát, and threatened the Portuguese province of Bicholim. Thereupon the Captain-General, leaving a garrison in Mandurim, advanced the main body of his troops to the Arandem river, whilst the Bounsulo, with his troops, remained at Aquerim, to cover the advance to his capital.

The Raja of Kolhapur, seeing the improbability of success against the combined forces of the Bounsulo and the Portuguese, now withdrew his troops, but left garrisons in the several forts he had captured pending the conclusion of a peace. Upon the withdrawal of the Kolhapur troops, those of Portugal were also recalled, but a sufficient force of the latter was left in Purnem to succour the Bounsulo should the Kolhapur Raja again attack him. The Bounsulo being thus relieved of all immediate danger, endeavoured to violate the agreement upon which alone the necessary assistance for his protection had been afforded him.

In 1790, the King of Sunda, being then a refugee in Goa, was desirous of sending an emissary to the Mahrattas with the view of regaining possession of his kingdom. This the Portuguese Captain-General greatly discouraged, but the King, anxious to gain his point, offered that, if he succeeded in recovering his kingdom, he would remain a vassal of the Crown of Portugal, and allow Portuguese troops to garrison any forts that might be recaptured. Great apprehensions were expressed as to the ultimate fate of Goa should the English or Mahrattas capture the fortress of Piro, and the Captain-General was also apprehensive lest the King of Sunda should escape and throw himself into the hands of either the Mahrattas or the English, in which case the danger to the Portuguese would be proportionately increased, and he took therefore every precaution to prevent that result.

Whilst deliberations on the subject were proceeding, news arrived to the effect that a fleet had been seen in the

vicinity of Piro, but it was uncertain whether it belonged to the Mahrattas or to the English. This brought matters to an issue, and a treaty was hurriedly entered into between the Portuguese and the King of Sunda, dated the 17th January, 1791, in which the latter abdicated, and assigned to the Portuguese all his rights in the territories of Ponda, Zambolim and Panchamal, together with their several dependencies, as well as the fortress of Cabo del Rama, and the jurisdiction of Canacona. The King of Sunda further agreed to make certain money allowances for the support of a Portuguese garrison at Piro. In two secret articles that were attached to the treaty, the King of Sunda further pledged himself not to leave Goa, and to endeavour to recover from the Mahrattas his former territories of Ponda, Zambolim, Supem, and others that were now held by them.

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1791-92.

After the conclusion of this treaty a force was dispatched to Rachol, on the 18th January, 1791, whence reinforcements were obtained, and the Portuguese army then marched to Piro, which place was reached on the 30th of the same month. The general in command of the expedition was ordered to hoist the flag of the King of Sunda on the fort of Piro, and to hold it nominally on his behalf; but on arrival there it was found that the place was already in the occupation of the Mahrattas, and their flag was flying over the fort, whilst their fleet commanded it by sea. There were, however, within the fort many troops favourable to the cause of the King, and the general managed to place himself in communication with these, by the aid of whom the Portuguese troops were quietly admitted, without opposition, and they thus obtained possession of that fort on the 30th January. In the following March, the Mahrattas called upon the Portuguese to restore the fortress of Piro to them, but by the aid of diplomacy this was successfully avoided.

On the 22nd February, 1792, the combined forces of the British, the Nizam, and the Peishwa defeated Tipú

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1792-94. Sultan and took the fortress of Seringapatam, and in accordance with a treaty subsequently concluded with him on the 18th March following, Tipú Sultan surrendered one-half of his territories to his victors, of which Calicut and a considerable portion of Malabar, yielding an annual revenue of 13,16,765C. Pagodas, were ceded to the British. It is asserted that when the English thus obtained possession of Calicut they destroyed the factories of the Portuguese, Danes, and French, and hauled down their respective flags, by which means they were enabled to monopolise to themselves the trade in pepper. The Captain-General wrote to the Governor of Bombay demanding the restitution of the Portuguese factory, and of the privileges which the Portuguese had formerly enjoyed there.

In their regulations for the administration of these newly acquired territories, the British Commissioners appointed, in the judicial department, seven local darogas, or native judges, who were made subordinate to the Provincial Courts of the Superintendents. The Roman Catholic padre of Calicut, however, objected to the "infidel tribunal" of the darogas, and claimed the ancient privilege of the Portuguese factory of jurisdiction over Christians. This claim, being incompatible with the principles of British rule, was rejected, but the padre was allowed to attend the Fouzdarry Court to explain the law at the trial of Christians.

After these events, Francisco da Cunha e Menezes received permission to return to Portugal, whereupon Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral was appointed to succeed him. The latter was at the time Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese army. The patent of his appointment as Captain-General of India was dated the 24th August, 1793, and he took possession of the government on the 22nd May, 1794. In the following year the province of Ponda was captured

and, together with its dependencies, annexed to the Portuguese possessions.

A.D. 1800.

A few years later, in 1800, being desirous of regaining the province of Purnem, which had been kept in a constant state of disturbance by the Bounsulo, Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral ordered Colonel Joaquim Vincente Godinho de Mira to send his sergeant-major, José dos Santos Callado, and 400 picked men, besides some artillery, to the chief pagoda of Purnem, to which place the Bounsulo's army had retreated. These orders were promptly executed, and on the 21st July the Bounsulo capitulated. Thereupon all the chief Dessayes of Purnem presented themselves and took an oath of allegiance, and that province was added to the Portuguese dominions. In the engagement, three of the Bounsulo's officers, who were near relatives of his, were taken prisoners, and these were sent to the fortress of Agoada, to be retained as hostages.

After this the Bounsulo sent repeated embassies to the Captain-General, with proposals which it was quite impossible for him to entertain. The former died shortly afterwards, and, leaving no children by either of his three wives to succeed him, the government devolved upon the first wife. In reporting these events to the Secretary of State, the Captain-General remarked that the territories of the Bounsulo were then in a disturbed state, as two of the brothers of the late ruler were fighting each other, and the conflict had resulted in the loss of two fortresses in the north, which were in the neighbourhood of the Raja of Kolhapur's territories. The Captain-General had been appealed to by both of them for support, and each had impressed upon him his respective claims and interests. Cabral, however, declined to side with either party, "not only," as he remarked, "because it will be wise not to interfere, but because it will be just as well they should fight amongst themselves and thus weaken each other."

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1795.

The events that took place in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century, were not without their effect upon the Portuguese possessions in India. In the desire to check the spread of the principles of the French Revolution, all Portuguese gentlemen suspected of encouraging French principles were hunted down by the Intendant-General of Police, and all Frenchmen were expelled from the kingdom. The Portuguese ministers not only combated the French principles at home, but they also joined in the general war against France, and sent a force into the Eastern Pyrenees to serve under General John Forbes Skelater, whilst four ships, under the Marquis de Niza, joined the English fleet in the Mediterranean. Although Spain willingly used these Portuguese auxiliaries so long as she needed their assistance, she basely deserted Portugal in the end, and made a separate peace with the French Republic at Basel in July, 1795. This naturally drove Portugal into a still closer alliance with England; and when, after the treaty of San Ildefonso, by which Spain declared war against England, and after the secret convention between France and Spain to divide Portugal between them, Spanish troops were massed on the Portuguese frontiers, an urgent supplication for help was sent to England. In response, Portugal was voted a subsidy of £200,000, and a force of 6,000 men was dispatched under Major-General Sir Charles Stuart, which deterred the Spaniards from attempting an invasion. Peace was subsequently made with Spain at Badajoz, by which Portugal ceded Olivenza, and at Paris with France, by which Portugal consented to the extension of French Guiana to the Amazons, and promised a large indemnity.

Napoleon Bonaparte was anything but satisfied with the Treaty of Badajoz, his object being utterly to destroy Portugal as a nation; and whilst he vainly plotted to this end in Europe, he also entered into an alliance with Tipú Sultan in India, with the view of driving both the English and Portuguese out of that country. This was

proved by the documents that were discovered at Seringapatam when that stronghold was captured by the English, amongst which were found copies of certain propositions addressed by Tipú to the French Directory, wherein it was stated, in Article 14, "We will commence hostilities against the English and Portuguese; when, in case the Nizam and the Mahrattas should join them, we will make war against them also, for it will then be necessary to subjugate them also, and to render them tributary to us."

These intentions were well known to the Marquess Wellesley, who was then Governor-General of British India, and he, accordingly, as early as the month of July, 1798, took into his consideration the propriety of garrisoning the Portuguese settlement of Goa with British troops. The vicinity of Goa to Bombay rendered it a most desirable station to the enemy, and the feeble resources of the Portuguese Government in India seemed to invite the aggressions of the French, who had severely felt the loss of the port of Mahe. In order to provide, in the most effectual manner, for the safety of Goa, and prevent a place of so much importanee from falling into hostile hands, the Governor-General, after the conclusion of the war in Mysore, opened communications with Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral, and proposed to him an arrangement for introducing an English garrison into Goa.

The result of this correspondence was that, on the 7th September, 1799, a detachment of British troops, consisting of about 1,100 rank and file, furnished by H.M. 75th, 77th, and 84th regiments, under the command of Colonel Sir William Clarke, was admitted into Goa, "with every demonstration on the part of His Excellency the Governor and Captain-General of the most perfect cordiality, and the most distinguished attention."* It was agreed that the question respecting the payment of

* Extract Letter from the Marquess Wellesley to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated October, 1799.

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1807-16.

the British troops employed in the defence of Goa should be adjusted by the respective Governments of Great Britain and Portugal in Europe. This British auxiliary force continued to occupy Goa until the general peace, in 1815, when they evacuated Portuguese territory.

Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral held the office of Captain-General in India for thirteen years. On the 30th May, 1807, he handed over the administration to his successor, Bernardo José de Lorena, Conde de Sarzedas. He then retired to the Brazils, where he had bestowed upon him the title of Visconde de Mirandella.

The government of the Conde de Sarzedas was attended by but few noteworthy events. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, who wrote in 1808, remarked that at that time the magnificence of the churches in Goa far exceeded the idea he had formed of them from the descriptions given by travellers. Goa, he said, is, properly speaking, the city of churches, and the wealth of all its provinces appears to have been spent in their erection. These specimens of ancient architecture, Dr. Buchanan remarked, are unrivalled in taste as well as in grandeur by any that can be witnessed in these days in any part of the East. They present a striking contrast to the gloom and misery that surround them. In fact, with the exception of these convents, the decay of the city in other respects was by this time complete.

The most important occurrence during the administration of the Conde de Sarzedas was the abolition of the tribunal of the Inquisition of Goa, in 1814, and the demolition of the palace within which the "Santo Officio" held its meetings.

Bernardo José de Lorena governed the Portuguese possessions in India until the 29th November, 1816, when he surrendered the sword of office to Dom Diogo de Sousa, Conde de Rio Pardo. Having done this, he left India and retired to Rio de Janeiro.

The Conde de Rio Pardo is reputed to have been a good

soldier, and a prudent economic administrator; but, following on the revolution that occurred in Portugal in 1820, a series of disorders and revolutions broke out in Portuguese India. The leaders of these disturbances having raised a revolt were followed by a number of adherents who, with seditious cries, seized the Viceroy, and having deposed him, appointed, on the 16th September, 1821, a provisional junta, composed of the following five members, viz., Field-Marshals Manoel Godinho da Mira and Joaquim Manoel Correia da Silva e Gama; the Chief Magistrates Manoel José Gomes Loureiro, Gonçalo de Magalhães Teixeira, and Manoel Duarte Leitão. These, however, did not long hold office, for on the 3rd December following they were also deposed, in consequence of another revolution.

The Conde de Rio Pardo left Goa for Bombay on the 2nd October, 1821, but returned to the seat of government on the 8th February following. On the 4th March, he embarked on board a military transport vessel and left India for Rio de Janeiro.

Dom Manoel da Camara was nominated Governor and Captain-General of India on the 19th July, 1820, and arrived at Goa on the 25th November, 1821. In consequence of the revolutionary condition of Goa, he did not at once attempt to assume the reins of office, but withdrew to a private house immediately on landing, where he remained until the revolt of the 3rd December. Upon the deposition of the provisional junta, Dom Manoel da Camara assumed office, but such was the power of the revolutionary party, that he was obliged to admit four colleagues into the administration. The new provisional government was then constituted as follows: President, Dom Manoel da Camara; Members of Council, the Archbishop of Cranganor, Dom Fr. Paulo de S. Thomé de Aquino, Brigadier Antonio de Mello Souto Maior Telles; Magistrate, João Carlos Leal; and Physician-in-Chief, Antonio José de Lima Leitão. The last named having

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1823-35.

been subsequently elected a deputy of the Constitutional Cortes, his place in the administration was filled by Captain-Mor Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha.

The above-mentioned provisional government continued in office until the 18th November, 1823, but on the news of the return of the King to Portugal, and the establishment in that country of the new order of things, known as the "Constitution of 1822," Dom Manoel da Camara dissolved the provisional government, and took upon himself the sole administration of Portuguese India, on the above-mentioned date. By Royal Letters Patent, of the 22nd August, 1824, he was appointed Viceroy and Captain-General, which titles he assumed on the 10th March, 1825. The government of Dom Manoel da Camara was chiefly noted for the development of works of public utility within the Portuguese territories; he died on the 16th November, 1824, whereupon the temporary administration was carried on by a junta composed of Dom Fr. Manoel de São Galdino, Archbishop of Goa; Candido José Mourão Garcez Palha, Chief of the Squadron; and Antonio Ribeiro de Carvalho, Auditor-General.

On the 9th October, 1827, Dom Manoel de Portugal e Castro took over charge of the administration as Governor. On the 7th April, 1830, he was elevated to the rank of Viceroy, and was the last of the Governors of India who bore that title. He retained the government until the 14th January, 1835, and was distinguished for the prudence and wisdom with which he restrained the excesses of the revolutionary parties in India, who still continued very much in evidence, and prepared to break out into open violence upon the slightest provocation. His administration being undisturbed by wars, he was enabled to devote his attention to the improvement and embellishment of the city of Panjim; and the erection of many stately buildings in "New Goa" dates from the period during which Dom Manoel de Portugal e Castro was Viceroy.

The year 1834 saw the restoration of the monarchy in Portugal, with Maria II., daughter of Dom Pedro, as Queen. The new government conceived the idea of appointing Bernardo Peres da Silva, a native of India, to the government, with the title of "Prefect." He was nominated to that office on the 7th May, 1834, and arrived at Goa on the 10th January in the following year. On the 14th January he took over the Civil Administration of Goa, which, however, he only held for some seventeen days.

Bernardo Peres da Silva, although a man of some ability, was possessed with strong personal sympathies and antipathies, and his accession to the government was speedily followed by a renewal of disorders. On the 1st February a revolt took place in Goa against the "Prefect." In the disturbance that followed, much blood was shed, and the "Prefect" was seized, and sent to Bombay. After a while, however, he returned to Portuguese territory, and retained for a short time a nominal authority in Daman and Diu.

Upon the expulsion of Bernardo Peres da Silva from Goa, Dom Manoel de Portugal e Castro temporarily assumed charge again of the government, and, although he held office for only about forty-eight hours, he succeeded in calming down the excited feelings of the people, and in restoring peace and order in Goa. In conformity with the existing law, he then placed the first Counsellor of the Prefecture, Joaquim Manoel Correia da Silva e Gama, at the head of affairs.

Fresh disturbances shortly afterwards occurred, and on the 10th February a reaction took place in favour of Bernardo Peres da Silva, which, however, failed to effect the object of restoring him again to power. On the 3rd March a military revolt occurred, which deposed the Counsellor of the Prefecture, and set up a provisional government consisting of Colonel João Cazimirs da Rocha Vasconcellos as President, with a Council composed of Manoel José Ribeiro, Physician-in-Chief, and Fr. Constantino de

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1836-37.

Santa Rita, Father of the Christians. The late Viceroy, Dom Manoel de Portugal e Castro, and the Magistrate, Manoel Venancio Moreira de Carvalho, refused to take part in this government. The former left Goa and went to Vingorla, whilst the latter returned to Lisbon. The Military Governor, Fortunato de Mello, was, at the same time, sent home to Lisbon.

Fr. Constantino died on the 7th December, 1836, whereupon a new assembly was summoned to elect three citizens to take part in the administration, who, with the two remaining members of the provisional government, would constitute a junta of five members. Accordingly, Colonel João Cabral de Estifique, Lieutenant-Colonel Antonio Maria de Mello, and the Magistrate Joaquim Antonio de Moraes Carneiro were selected. The last named, however, soon retired from the junta, and the Physician-in-Chief, Ribeiro, died on the 10th April, 1837. A fresh meeting of the Assembly was then called, and Major José Antonio de Lemos and Antonio Mariano de Azevedo were selected to fill the two vacancies in the government. These, however, only remained in office for a few days, and the government was, on their retirement, subsequently carried on by the remaining three members of the junta until the arrival of the new Governor.

Simão Infante de Lacerda, Barão de Sabroso, was appointed Governor on the 2nd May, 1836, and on the 7th December following a new law was passed, under which all Governors of India, from that date forward, were to bear the title of Governor-General. Barão de Sabrosa arrived at Goa on the 19th November, 1837, where he appears not to have been well received, for he had constant conflicts with the President of the Court of Judicature, and with the commandant of the frigate "Dom Pedro." These, however, in the end, fled from Goa, and abandoned their respective appointments. Finding himself in failing health, Barão de Sabroso withdrew from administering the affairs of the State, and, in conformity

with the law, he handed over the government to his Council. He did not long survive, and expired on the 14th October, 1838. CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1838-40.

The Council to whom Barão de Sabrosa handed over the government, and who continued to manage the affairs of Portuguese India after his death, consisted of the principal ecclesiastical authority, the Archbishop elect, Dom Antonio Feliciano de Santa Rita; the chief military officer, Colonel-Commandant José Antonio Vieira da Fonseca; the chief magistrate and presiding judge of the High Court of Judicature, José Caneiro Freire de Lima; and the chief fiscal officer, Attorney Deputy of the Junta of the Exchequer, Domingos José Mariano Luiz. On the 21st November, 1838, the Archbishop died, and the other three members of the Council thenceforward continued the administration, pending the nomination of a new Governor-General.

On the 5th March, 1839, José Antonio Vieiro da Fonseca was appointed Governor-General *ad interim*, and continued to act in that capacity until the arrival at Goa of Manoel José Mendes, Barão de Candal, to whom he delivered over the government on the 15th November, 1839. The Barão de Candal was the first Governor of Portuguese India of whom it is recorded that he went there *viâ* Egypt. He gave great promise as an able administrator, but was deprived of the opportunity of exhibiting his capacity, being cut off by death, after having held the government for only a few months, on the 18th April, 1840.

On the death of the Barão de Candal, the management of the affairs of the State devolved upon the Council, which now consisted of Colonel José Antonio Vieira da Fonseca; Judge of the Court of Judicature, José Caneiro Freire de Lima; the Vicar Capitular, Antonio João de Athaide; the Scrivener of the Exchequer, Domingos José Mariano Luiz; and the elective Councillors José da Costa Campos, Captain of Engineers, and Caetano de Sousa e Vasconcellos, Colonel of the Militia of Mozambique.

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1840-44.

Shortly afterwards, however, on the 24th September, 1840, José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, Intendant of Marine at Goa, assumed the government, having been appointed by the Queen as *ad interim* Governor. José Joaquim introduced many improvements throughout the Portuguese Indian dominions; but in 1842 a military revolt broke out in Goa, and he was deposed on the 27th April, 1842, whereupon he retired to Bombay, and subsequently returned to Portugal.

Upon the deposition of Lopes de Lima, the government was carried on by the Council, which then comprised the President of the Court of Judicature, Antonio Ramaldo de Sá; Brigadier Antonio José de Mello Souto Maior Telles; the Vicar Capitular, Antonio João de Athaide; and the two elective members José da Costa Campos, and Caetano de Sousa e Vasconcellos. These conducted the affairs of the State until the arrival of the new Governor-General, Francisco Xavier da Silva Pereira, Conde das Antas, who took over the administration on the 19th September, 1842. The Conde das Antas effected several reforms and economies, principally in the military branch of the administration. In his time Panjim was raised to the dignity of a city, with the title of "Nova Goa."

On the 25th April, 1843, the Conde das Antas had the warrant opened that contained the decree of the appointment of his successor, and, in accordance with the instructions therein contained, he, on the same day, handed over the government to Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha, chief of the Marine of Goa. He continued to administer the affairs of Portuguese India until the arrival of a successor from Lisbon in the person of José Ferreira Pestana, who took over the government on the 20th May, 1844.

José Ferreira Pestana was the author of many important improvements in the administration of Portuguese India and in Goa. In the same year that he entered upon the government, Macao and Timor severed their connection with Goa and were placed under a separate

Governor-General, who resided at Macao. Since that date the government of Portuguese India has consisted only of Goa and the dependencies of Daman and Diu. Pestana founded a Medical School in Goa, and on the 29th October, 1847, he had the life-sized statue of Affonso de Albuquerque, which had formerly stood in a niche in the façade of the Church of Nossa Senhora da Serra, in the old city, erected on a high pedestal in the square facing the barracks; and on this occasion Pestana recited an appropriate panegyric in verse to the memory of that distinguished hero.

Until 1846, Goa was intersected by few roads of any importance, but with the administration of Pestana was commenced the construction of a system of communications by which the territories of Goa, Salsette, and Bardes have since been opened up. In 1847 a Company was organised in Goa with the view of reviving the then almost extinct commerce, but, like its predecessors in the preceding centuries, its efforts proved wholly ineffectual for that purpose.

During this period, the insurrection at Sawantwari,* and the shelter afforded in Goa to the rebels who had fled

* The following particulars relative to this insurrection are taken from the Imperial Gazetteer of India: "The Chief (of Sawantwari) who ruled from 1755 to 1803, under the name of Khem Sáwant the Great, married, in 1763, the daughter of Jáyaji Sindhia, and consequently the title of Rai Bahadur was conferred upon him by the Emperor of Delhi. The Chieftain of Kolhapur, envious of this honour, made a descent on Wari, and captured several hill fortresses, which were, however, through Sindhia's influence, subsequently restored. The rule of Khem Sáwant, who, not content with wars on hand, also took to piracy, was one long contest against Kolhapur, the Peshwa, the Portuguese, and the British. Khem Sáwant died childless in 1803; and the contest for the succession was not decided till 1805, when Khem Sáwant's widow, Lakshmibai, adopted a child, Ramchandra Sáwant, *alias* Bhau Sahib. This child lived three years, and was then (1805) strangled in bed. Phond Sáwant, a minor, was chosen to fill his place. During these years of disorder the ports swarmed with pirates. So severely did British commerce suffer, that in 1812 Phond Sáwant was forced to enter into a treaty, ceding the port of Vengurla to the British, and engaging to give up all his vessels of war. Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, Phond Sáwant died, and was succeeded by his son, Khem Sáwant, a child of eight years. This chief, when he came of age, proved unable to manage his estate, and after several revolutions and much disturbance, at last, in 1838, agreed to make over the administration to the British Government. After this, rebellion twice broke out, in 1839 and in 1844, but the disturbances were soon suppressed, and the country has since remained quiet."

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1844-55.

thither, threatened at one time to bring about a rupture between the governments of Bombay and Goa; but, owing to the prudence of both governments, their differences were satisfactorily settled.

José Ferreira Pestana continued to hold the office of Governor-General for nearly seven years, during which time his administration was distinguished for good government and many important improvements. On the 12th January, 1851, José Joaquim Januario Lapa, Barão, and subsequently Visconde de Villa Nova de Ourem, arrived at Goa as Governor-General, and José Ferreira Pestana handed over the government to him on the 15th of the the same month.

José Joaquim Januario Lapa followed very much in the footsteps of his predecessor in the introduction of useful reforms, and amongst other things he founded in Goa, in 1854, a Normal School, and a High School called *Lyceu Nacional de Nova Goa;* and, about the same time, he also established a class for teaching chemistry. In addition to these high-grade establishments, there were also forty-nine public lower-grade schools. The introduction of material improvements in the State was, however, considerably interfered with by a revolt of the Ranes of Satari, in 1852, headed by Dipu or Dipaji, which was only quelled with difficulty after an obstinate and protracted resistance.

Acting under the authority of the Court, José Joaquim delivered up the administration of the State to the Council of the government on the 6tn May, 1855, and returned to Portugal; the state of his health not permitting his longer residence in India. This Council was composed as follows: Dom Joaquim de Santa Rita Betelho, Bishop elect of Cochin; Luiz da Costa Campos, Brigadier of the Army of India; Francisco Xavier Peres, Attorney of the Junta of the Exchequer, and the two elective Councillors Bernardo Hector da Silveira e Lorena, and Victor Anastacio Murão Garcez Palha. These administered the

affairs of India for just about six months, and on the 3rd November they handed over the government to Antonio Cesar de Vasconcellos Correia, Visconde de Torres Novas, who had recently arrived from Lisbon as Governor-General.

During the administration of the Visconde de Torres Novas, the Portuguese territories of Goa were considerably developed, and communications were opened throughout them and to the frontier of the British dominions by means of roads. A carriage descended the ghauts by a road leading from the British frontier for the first time in the year 1857. On the 27th April, 1858, the first stone was laid of a palace for the Camara of Nova Goa, and on the 16th September, in the same year, another high road to the British dominions was inaugurated. This line, 33·5 kilometres in length, runs northwards, through the provinces of Bardes, from Verem, opposite to Panjim, to Naibaga on the confines of the State of Sawantwari.

In the following year, 1859, the electric telegraph was introduced into Goa, various works were undertaken for the improvement of the public health, and the boundaries of the jurisdictions of Daman and Diu were determined and demarcated.

On the 29th January, 1860, an industrial exhibition was opened in Goa for the products of the State of Portuguese India, and of Hindustan generally. In a report by the Visconde de Torres Novas, of the 12th November, 1860, on the state of his administration, it was observed that there had been a notable increase in the public revenues since the date of his assumption of office, and that the opening up of communications had made satisfactory progress. Amongst the most important roads then in course of construction was one from Usgão to the Ghaut of Tinem, which, passing through portions of Bicholim and of Embarbacem, would join the high road from Dharwar, and so open up the port of Goa to British pro-

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1857-61.

vinces in the interior of India. Another road from Sanguelim to Massordem, would also lead to the Ghaut of Tinem, traversing the province of Satary; and a third from Panjim, and passing Santa Cruz and S. Lourenço, would be extended by Salsette and Canacona up to the British territory at Sadashivgarh.

During the administration of the Visconde de Torres Novas an important question arose relative to Roman Catholic ecclesiastical patronage in India According to a concordat of the 21st February, 1857, made by the Holy See with the King of Portugal, the ancient right of patronage of the Portuguese Sovereigns was restricted to the metropolitan archbishorpic of Goa, the archbishopric of Cranganur, the bishoprics of Cochin, Meliapur, Malacca and Macao. Three years later, however, on the 24th January, 1860, another concordat was concluded between the same two powers, which vested the entire Roman Catholic ecclesiastical patronage of the East in the Crown of Portugal. In accordance with this arrangement the nomination of an Archbishop to Goa was confirmed by the Pope, and that ecclesiastic was expected to proceed to Bombay in October, 1861, accompanied by two commissioners, for the purpose of dividing British India into twenty or thirty parts, to answer the purpose of so many bishoprics, each being confined within moderate limits for the greater convenience of ecclesiastical supervision. The terms of this concordat were, for some time, carefully kept from the knowledge of the British Government, but, upon their becoming known, an interchange of communications took place between the two governments of Great Britain and Portugal, but with no further result than that the former power declined in any way to acknowledge the force of the concordat within British dominions in India, or to recognise the practice of the King of Portugal in nominating to ecclesiastical dignities in British India to be a matter of right, or acknowledge His Majesty as protector of the Roman Catholic Church in British India.

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1859-64.

The district of Nagar Havili, near Daman, was ceded to the Portuguese by the Mahrattas, in accordance with a treaty signed at Poona on the 6th January, 1780, in indemnification for certain piratical acts committed against a ship carrying a flag of the former nation. This district is separated from Daman by a narrow strip of British territory, five to seven miles in width; and from the fact that neither its boundaries had ever been accurately delimitated, nor those of Daman, controversies constantly occurred as to what was British and what Portuguese territory. To put an end to these differences, a joint commission was appointed by the two governments, which met at Mahun, a village on the banks of the Damon-Ganga river, in British territory, and near to the Portuguese villages of Pardy and Jary, on the 3rd February, 1860. The commissioners were Señor Ricardo Carlos Clanchy and Mr. W. Hughes, and these found certain landmarks of villages, still well preserved, which had been erected in 1859 by the Conseilheiro Cunha Rivara and Colonel Pope. Owing to the want of proper authority on the part of the British Commissioner to agree to certain proposals, the labours of the commission were suspended on the 22nd February. They were, however, resumed on the 16th April, 1863, and brought to a satisfactory conclusion on the 2nd May following.

The Conde de Torres Novas continued to hold the office of Governor-General until the 25th December, 1864, on which day he made over the administration of Portuguese India to his successor, José Ferreira Pestana, and left India for Europe on the 9th January following.

José Ferreira Pestana had already held several important posts under the Portuguese Government, and is reputed to have been a man of great ability, and an able administrator. He had previously filled the office of Viceroy of India, from 1844 to 1851, and he now came out to occupy that position for a second time. Very few important events occurred during the second period of his

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1869-70.

government in India; the Portuguese territories continued in a state of peace; several important public buildings were erected, including the Camara Municipal (Town Hall) in Margão, which was erected in 1870. In the preceding year the Arsenal at Goa was abolished.

The origin of the Arsenal can be traced back to the times preceding the capture of Goa by Affonso de Albuquerque, and it is described by De Barros as the place where the Mohammedans had, at the time when Goa was taken, drawn ashore their ships; and through the gate of which the Portuguese first entered the city. After the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque made the necessary improvements in the Arsenal, and appointed Francisco Corvinel, a Florentine, as its superintendent, with the title of Feitor. In 1540, there were 700 persons employed on various works in this establishment.

The Arsenal was, towards the close of the sixteenth century, in a most flourishing state, keeping pace with the rapid growth of the Portuguese power in the East. In a square contained within its walls was the mint where money was coined, a foundry for cannon, and other establishments for carrying on work connected with war vessels and merchantmen. The commandant of the Arsenal was the *Vedor da Fasenda*, who ranked next to the Viceroy in authority, and had his residence on the spot. His duties included the superintending of all matters connected with the exportation and importation of goods, and the equipment of the fleet.

On the 9th June, 1753, this vast establishment, together with a great portion of the shipping, was destroyed by fire; but a few years subsequently it was rebuilt, and by an *alvara* of the 28th April, 1773, was considerably improved, its designation being changed to that of *Arsenal de Ribeira de Naus*. The post of the *Vedor da Fazenda* was then abolished, and substituted by that of *Intendente da Marinha e Armazen*.

Notwithstanding the rapid decline of the Portuguese power and navy, the expenses of this establishment amounted to an enormous sum, and the number of workmen employed therein to 861. Subsequently, however, efforts were made to reduce the expenditure, but the outlay, notwithtanding, continued to amount to more than could be borne by the exhausted treasury. Reductions in the cost were effected in 1841-42, but an order of the Visconde de Torres Novas, of the 4th July, 1856, gave almost a death-blow to its existence by reducing its establishment and altering its designation to *Arsenal do Exercito*, and the title of the officer at its head to that of Inspector. It was maintained, however, for a few years longer, and at length abolished, as has been stated above, in 1869, when its vast offices were razed to the ground. Thus disappeared this monument of the power, politics, and social status of the Portuguese since the sixteenth century.

During the administration of José Ferreira Pertana, an Imperial edict was published, on the 25th February, 1869, abolishing slavery in all Portuguese dominions, in the following terms :—

"ARTICLE I.—The status of slavery shall be abolished throughout all the possessions of the Portuguese Crown from the day of publication of the present decree.

"ARTICLE II.—All persons of either sex and without any exception, who, on the day above named, shall be found in a state of slavery, shall pass into that of freedom, enjoy all the rights, and be subject to all the obligations granted and imposed on freed men by the law of 14th December, 1854.

"ARTICLE III.—The services to which the above-named freed men are subject, in accordance with the decree referred to, shall belong to the person of those with whom on the same day they shall have been slaves.

"'Section 1.—The claim to those services shall end on

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A.D. 1869.

the 29th of April, 1878, the day on which, in virtue of the law of 29th April, 1858, the status of slavery would have ceased.

"'Section 2.—On the same day, the 29th April, 1878, all the obligations which are by the present law imposed on freed men shall cease.'

"ARTICLE IV.—All Acts to the contrary are revoked."

The effects of the abolition of slavery were, no doubt, more particularly felt in Africa than in the Portuguese Indian possessions, but another Act passed on the 12th November, 1869, in which important changes were made in tariff regulations affecting the several Portuguese foreign territories, was intended to stimulate the development of Portuguese India, as well as the provinces of Angola and Mozambique, and in a report on the subject by Señor L. A. Rebello da Silva, Minister of Marine and Colonies, of the 12th November, 1869, addressed to the King of Portugal, the following enlightened observations were made as arguments in favour of the proposed fiscal changes:—

"The improvement in the condition of the transmarine provinces depends to a great extent upon the adoption of a system which will not drive away from, but will rather attract to, the ports thereof the ships of all nations. Agriculture, mining operations, and every kind of progress in general would become paralysed should we insist upon imposing an unjustifiable veto to the commercial policy followed by the great majority of civilized nations, and sanctioned by facts. The revision of the transmarine tariffs, which has been intrusted to the study and zeal of a committee composed of persons duly qualified for it by their capacity and practical knowledge, is already far advanced, and will, I trust, be brought to a conclusion very shortly, but not so soon as I wish, owing to the fact that more exact and ample information is required from some of the provinces.

* * * * *

"In the reform of the Indian tariff, which is connected in many points with that of Eastern Africa, I did not also hesitate to reject such provisions as were less conformable to the principles which are to be found in the original draft sent out to that State. The obstacles prejudicial to trade and useless to the treasury, which ordered merchandise of a certain district to be considered as foreign, and subjected it to the payment of the highest duty, for the sole reason of their removal to another district by a foreign conveyance; which prohibited the importation of salt and gunpowder; which levied excessive duties upon articles of foreign production shipped by foreign vessels, were utterly unjustifiable; the more so as, after all this, an exception was made in favour of those nations with whom we had concluded commercial treaties, that is to say, all those that carry on commercial relations with Portuguese India. On the other hand, the tariff accorded the privilege of nationality to the products of Oceania and China for the sole reason of having passed through Macao, where they pay no duties. I did not, however, think proper to abolish, without further information, a few other regulations; although I did not look upon them as being altogether conformable to principle, I was deterred by the scruple of sacrificing important items of the revenue of the State, without possessing sufficient information as to the effects of a fundamental change.

"I shall not attempt to justify either the abolition of the privilege of nationality accorded to merchandise from Oceania and China, or the grounds upon which salt and gunpowder will be allowed to be imported. The former, as a means of protecting the navigation between India and Macao—the only pretext which might be alleged in its defence—cannot be maintained, when a bi-monthly line of steam navigation places the two provinces in communication with each other. The prohibition to import gunpowder and salt, which are thus rendered monopolies, the former because it is made at Goa on account of the

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State, and the other, in spite of the duties which are charged upon it exceeding 50 per cent., can meet with no reasonable explanation.

"In the revised tariff which I now propose, many imports are abolished which yielded but little, and among them the additional ten per cent. upon the importation and exportation of all merchandise. With respect to the application of the proceeds of this tax, I have endeavoured to conciliate justice with economy and regularity in the public service. I did not hesitate to add 29 reis (about 1½d.) to the duty upon unmanufactured tobacco, and 119 reis (6¼d.) to that upon tobacco made into cheroots, because, inasmuch as the importation in 1864 went as high as 16,088 arrobas, the difference will produce an increase of revenue of nearly 18,000,000 in provincial coinage, and at the same time the alteration is not so great as to affect the consumption or to encourage smuggling."

José Ferreira Pestana continued to rule Portuguese India until the 7th May, 1870, upon which day he handed over the government to his successor, Januario Correia de Almeida, Conde de S. Januario, and he left India to return to Portugal three days afterwards.

CHAPTER XVII.

Januario Correia de Almeida appointed Governor-General—Military Revolt in Goa—Joaquim José de Macedo e Couto appointed Governor-General—Commercial Privileges at Surat—Anglo-Portuguese Treaty—João Tavares de Almeida succeeds to the Government—His Death—Antonio Sergio de Souza nominated Governor-General—His Death—He is succeeded by Caetano Alexandre de Almeida e Albuquerque — Harbour Works at Marmagão—Railway from Marmagão to Hubli—Carlos Eugenio Correa da Silva appointed Governor-General—He is succeeded by Francisco Joaquim Ferreira da Amaral—Augusto Cesar Cardoso de Carvalho appointed Governor-General—He is transferred to the Cape de Verde, and is succeeded in India by Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes—Termination of the Goa Treaty—Francisco Maria da Cunha appointed Governor-General—He is succeeded by Francisco Teixeira da Silva—Raphael Jacome Lopes de Andrade appointed Governor-General.

A.D. 1870-71.

Januario Correia de Almeida, Visconde de S. Januario, who had previously held many high offices under the State, and had greatly distinguished himself whilst Governor of Macao, was now appointed by Royal Letters Patent to fill the more important position of Governor-General of Portuguese India. He disembarked at Goa on the 5th May, 1870, and assumed charge of the government two days later. He has the reputation of having administered his government with conspicuous ability, and has been described as a scrupulous observer and a most intelligent administrator. During his administration a military revolt broke out in Goa, in 1871, in consequence of the refusal of the Government to yield to certain exorbitant demands on the part of the troops. To supress this insurrection the Court of Lisbon sent out reinforcements, which were accompanied by Dom Augusto, brother of the King. The revolt was then speedily put down, and the regiments that had taken part in it were disbanded.

CHAP. XVII. A.D. 1870-72.

This insurrection had for some time been brewing. The army was quite disproportioned to the extent of the province of Goa, and it absorbed more than half of its total revenues. An attempt was made, by a decree of 2nd December, 1869, to reform the army, and to bring it more within the means and requirements of the State, but this was replied to by a revolt of the 22nd February, 1870, in which all the regiments took part with the exception of the artillery and of the municipal guards. On this occasion, the Government yielded to everything, whereupon the revolutionists, seeing their power, dictated the law. As the State, however, refused to sanction the action of the Government of India, the army again broke out in revolt, and the various corps began successively to rebel on the 21st, 23rd, and 24th September, 1871. The Government on this occasion acted with energy; they armed the capital for a defence, and at the same time telegraphed to Portugal for reinforcements. Before the arrival of this aid, however, the revolution had been put down, and the following measures were adopted for preventing its recurrence: four of the revolutionary battalions were disbanded, the military school was abolished, and the military force in India was reorganised, and limited to one expeditionary battalion, a battery of artillery, and various companies of police.

In the same year negotiations were commenced for the conclusion of a Treaty of Extradition between the British and Portuguese Governments in India, the want of which had been much felt by the Bombay Government with regard to criminals taking refuge in Portuguese territory. These, however, for the time, led to no practical results.

The Visconde de S. Januario only held office until the 10th December, 1871, on which date he gave up the government to his successor, Joaquim José de Macedo e Couto. He embarked from Goa for China on the 19th January, 1872.

Joaquim José de Macedo e Couto was appointed Gov-

ernor-General by Royal Letters Patent of the 10th November, 1871. He left Lisbon on the 12th *idem*, and, as stated above, assumed office on the 10th of the following month.

About this time the attention of the Bombay Government was directed to the fact that, by virtue of certain privileges hitherto enjoyed by the Portuguese in Surat, the latter were importing large quantities of wine and spirits into the Island of Bombay, paying for the same rates of duty far below what was exacted from British subjects or other nations. This privilege the Portuguese claimed under a firman,* granted to their factory at Surat by the Great Mughal in 1714, under which the rates of duty levyable from them was limited to two and a half per cent. Their exemption from higher rates of duty had,

* The following is a translation of this incontrovertible order: "Be it known now and hereafter to the Mutseedees of all the affairs of Surat and other fortified towns, that a petition of the wearers of the cross has been exalted and brought to the royal presence, dignified with the royal signature, and placed in the royal archives containing that the Portuguese are true merchants, and their vessels trade constantly with our dominions, are eager in showing their submission, and are worthy of favour and hope from our goodness and benignity; that the duties on their goods shall be fixed at two and a half per cent., and that perwanas shall be drawn out in their name, ordering two and a half per cent., either in money or kind, to be taken on the value of their goods agreeably to the current price in the bazar. The world-obeyed order was benignantly issued that this tribe are worthy of favour, and that inasmuch from a representation of Amanet Khan, in the time of his late Majesty (Aurungzebe), who rested in heaven on the right hand of God—may the peace of the Almighty be upon him. The duties of the Dutch were fixed at two and a half per cent. in the present reign, and in compliance with a like petition of the wearers of the cross, that only two and a half per cent. shall be taken from them: this is wrote that they may consider it as a law, and having carried it into execution, two and a half per cent. only shall be taken on the cost of the goods, nor shall more be taken on any pretence of fees, free gifts, or sepoy's provisions.

"Ordered by His Imperial Majesty—The petition of the wearers of the cross shall be brought forward and placed in the royal archives with the royal signature: that the Portuguese are true merchants, whose vessels trade constantly with our royal dominions, are eager to show their submission, and worthy of favour amongst the other Fringees, and hope that the duties on their gold, silver, and copper, &c., shall be fixed at two and a half per cent., the same as the Dutch, and that perwanas shall be issued to take two and a half per cent. in money or kind on the current price of the bazar, or whatsoever order should be dignified with the royal signature of peculiar favour. That as this tribe are worthy of favour, and, as formerly in the name of Aurungzebe, in consequence of a representation of Amanet Khan, the duties of the Dutch were fixed at two and a half per cent., so in the same manner shall two and a half per cent. be taken from the wearer of the cross." Written the 21st of Suffer, the third of the present reign, and sealed by Cutibul Mullick Yemeerund Dowleh Hassane Aly Khan.

CHAP. XVII

A.D. 1871-79.

first by successive enactments of the Indian Legislature, and subsequently by the direct action of the Local Government, been continued to the present time, though the abolition of this exemption had frequently been the subject of correspondence. Advantage was, however, now taken of this privilege to such an extent as, in the opinion of the Government of Bombay, constituted an abuse of the concession and seriously interfered with the Customs revenues of Bombay. It was discovered that large quantities of wine were being imported from Goa and Daman to Surat, whence, having paid the said two and a half per cent. duty, it was re-exported to Bombay, where it was of course admitted to free entry. To such an extent was this trade carried on that it attracted the attention of English merchants in India, who complained that by this means Bombay was being largely supplied with brandies at rates which would be quite unremunerative in other parts of India.

The serious loss to which the revenue of British India was exposed by a continuance of these privileges to the Portuguese led to proposals for their abolition, but against this the Portuguese authorities made a strong protest, and the matter was then referred to England for decision, and formed the subject of diplomatic communications between the Governments of England and Portugal.

On the 26th July, 1872, a notification was published in the Official Gazette by the Bombay Government, in which it was declared that the firman privilege under which Portuguese goods had hitherto been permitted to be imported into Surat, at the uniform rate of two and a half per cent. duty, would cease from and after the 1st September following. This brought forth a very strong protest from the Portuguese Minister at the Court of St. James', and a claim for damages on account of the suspension of these privileges was subsequently made against the British Government. The discussion of this important question was still pending when the Government of Joaquim José de Macedo e Couto came to an end.

CHAP. XVII. A.D. 1874.

On the 30th December, 1874, a contract was entered into by the Government of Portuguese India with the British India Steam Navigation Company for the establishment of a steam service between Lisbon and Goa, viâ the Suez Canal, and also between Lisbon and Mozambique, in return for an annual subsidy of 27 contos of reis. Another contract was also concluded with the same company for a service between Mozambique, Quilimane and Lourenço Marques in consideration of a subsidy of 13,500$,000 reis annually.

Reference may here also be made to a decree of the Portuguese Government, dated the 26th November, 1874, under which 20,000 hectares of land in Mozambique were granted to Ignacio José Paiva Raposo, for the purpose of poppy cultivation. Numerous difficulties had to be contended with at the commencement of this experiment, and the results hitherto obtained would seem not to have come up to the expectations of its promoters, who anticipated great results from the trade in opium with India and China.

The successor of Joaquim José de Macedo e Couto as Governor of Portuguese India, was João Tavares de Almeida, who was appointed to the post by a decree of the 17th December, 1874. He arrived at Pangim on the 8th May following, and took over the government two days later.

Shortly after this, the Portuguese Government expressed their willingness to negotiate with the British Government for the cession of the privileges which they claimed at Surat on the following basis:—

(1) An agreement for the construction by both Governments of a railway from the port of Marmagão to the frontier of British India. (2) The free transit of all British products of the British possessions through the Portuguese territory to the said port, as well as of products, no matter of what origin, imported through that port for the British possessions, but subject to local dues of the port or others

CHAP. XVII.

A.D 1877-79.

which may be established to pay for improvements. (3) Exemption and reduction of import duties, and (4) An agreement for the mutual extradition of criminals. Negotiations followed which resulted in a Treaty of commerce and extradition between the two Governments in respect to their several Indian possessions, which was signed at Lisbon on the 26th December, 1878; and ratifications were exchanged also at Lisbon, on the 6th August, 1879. The principal conditions of this Treaty were:—Reciprocal freedom of commerce, navigation, and transit, between the Indian dominions of the two Governments; mutual agreements for the construction of a railway from the town of New Hubli to the port of Marmagão, and its extension from New Hubli to Bellary; the abolition of all Customs Duties on the frontier lines between British and Portuguese possessions in India; a uniformity of Customs Duties in the two possessions on articles imported and exported by sea (special stipulations were, however, made in the Treaty with regard to salt, spirits, and opium); limitation of the manufacture of salt in Portuguese territory, and the suppression of certain salt-works therein; the introduction into Portuguese India of the system of excise on spirituous liquors, including toddy, sanctioned by law in the Bombay Presidency; prohibition of the export from Portuguese possessions of opium, in either a raw or manufactured state, or its cultivation and manufacture, except on account of the British Government; the payment by the British to the Portuguese Government of the sum of four lacs of rupees annually: this Treaty was to remain in force for twelve years.

João Tavares de Almeida died on the 24th July, 1877, in the Governor's palace at Pangim, whereupon the following principal authorities at the seat of Government took over charge of the Administration, pending the appointment of a successor to the late Governor, viz.: Dom Ayres de Oruellas e Vasconcellos, the Archbishop Primate of the East; João Caetano da Silva Campos,

Acting Judge President of the Court of Justice of Goa; Francisco Xavier Soares da Veiga, Colonel of the Army of India, and Eduardo Augusto Pinto Balsemão, General Secretary of the State. These held office until the arrival of the new Governor about three and a half months later.

Antonio Sergio de Souza, Visconde de Sergio, was nominated Governor-General of India by Royal Letters Patent of the 25th July, 1877. He arrived at Pangim on the 10th November following, and assumed charge of the government two days later. Visconde de Sergio had not much opportunity of distinguishing himself by his administration of the State of India; but little of any importance occurred during the few months that he held the reins of Government. He died of typhoid fever at Government House, on the 3rd May, 1878.

On his death the charge of the Government was taken over by the chief authorities present, viz.: Dom Ayres de Oruellas e Vasconcellos, João Caetano da Silva Campos, Francisco Xavier Soares da Veiga, and Antonio Sergio de Souza, junior, Lieutenant-Captain of the Fleet and interim Secretary. The last two named subsequently retired from the Government, and were succeeded respectively by Thomas Nunes da Serva e Moura, and Eduardo Augusto Pinto Balsemão. This temporary administration lasted until the 3rd December, 1878, on which date Caetano Alexandre de Almeida e Albuquerque took over the Government. This officer had previously been Governor of Angola, from which colony he was promoted to the Governor-Generalship of the Portuguese Indies.

Under date of the 21st March, 1881, the Governor-General communicated a most important report to the "Junta Geral da Provincia" upon the measures that had been adopted by the Government during the preceding year. Referring to the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of the 26th December, 1878, he remarked that the experience of its working had proved conclusively that the new order of things had been productive of advantages to the population

CHAP. XVII. A.D. 1881.

in general, and more especially to the poorer classes, since the cost of the principal articles of food had decreased, on some to the extent of 25 per cent., on others 30 per cent., and on tobacco 50 per cent. These results the Governor-General attributed to the entire abolition of the Customs Duties, and the full liberty of transit without any delays, or trammels, or fiscal vexations of any kind, which the commerce of Goa enjoyed under the conditions of that Treaty. The actual cost of salt in Goa, however, was higher than formerly, but he considered that the cheapness of tobacco, of which there was a general use, and which had also become indispensable among all classes, fully compensated by itself for the higher price of salt. These advantages, however, were not limited to Goa, but were also enjoyed by Daman and Diu. In all the Portuguese possessions in India commerce had prospered under this Treaty, and both the exports and imports had considerably increased. In concluding this part of his report, Caetano Alexandre de Almaida e Albuquerque observed: "After a year has elapsed, during which our relations, both with the Governor-General of India and with the Presidency of Bombay, have been most frequent, it is highly gratifying to me to record in this place that the relations in question have been carried on in the most friendly and courteous manner, and that I have always received from those two exalted officials the most cordial assistance in carrying out the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, as well as the most flattering proofs of consideration and friendship."

In Article VI. of the Treaty of December, 1878, reference was made to the probable construction of a railway communication between British and Portuguese India, and to the fact that a Company had been formed for the construction of a railway from the port of Marmagão to the town of New Hubli. This Company subsequently obtained from the Portuguese Government a guarantee for that portion of the line that lay within the territories of Goa, and the

British Indian Government thereupon undertook to make arrangements for the extension of the line from the Portuguese frontier to Hubli and Bellary. Besides the construction of the aforesaid railway, this Company undertook to carry out extensive works at Marmagão, also under a guarantee from the Portuguese Government, with the view of adapting that port for the accommodation of sea-going vessels. The works at Marmagão were commenced about the end of November, 1881, and the construction of the railway was begun on the 22nd February, 1882.

On the 14th May, 1884, a contract was entered into for laying a telegraph cable between Macao and Hong Kong, and between Macao and the island of Tapia, in consideration of which the Portuguese Government agreed to pay a subsidy of £500 per annum for ten years.

Carlos Eugenio Correa da Silva, Visconde de Paço de Arcos, was nominated to succeed Caetano Alexandre de Almaida e Albuquerque as Governor-General, by decree of the 10th November, 1881, and he held that office until exonerated by a further decree of the 23rd December, 1885. He shortly afterwards handed over the administration to his successor, Francisco Joaquim Ferreira de Amaral. The last-named held office for less than twelve months, and was relieved of the Government by a decree of the 28th October, 1886, wherein Augusto Cesar Cardoso de Carvalho was appointed to succeed him.

During the administration of the last-named Governor-General, the harbour at Marmagão and the railway line thence, to the British frontier, were opened to traffic. In July, 1886, the Portuguese Governor-General went by train the whole way from Marmagão to Souali, and expressed himself highly satisfied with the progress of the works. The harbour, and the railway to the forty-first mile, were opened to the public on the 17th January, 1887, and the remaining Ghât section of ten miles on the 3rd February, 1888.

By a decree of the 23rd February, 1889, Augusto Cesar

CHAP. XVII. A.D. 1890-92.

Cardoso de Carvalho was transferred from India to the Governorship of the Cape de Verde Islands, and on the 11th April following, Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes was appointed to succeed him in the Government of India.

Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes was nominated Governor-General of India by the same decree that relieved his predecessor of that appointment. During his administration a strong feeling prevailed that certain clauses in the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 were operating to the disadvantage of certain Portuguese interests in India; at the same time the Government of British India expressed a desire that the Treaty should be terminated, but they were willing that it should be renewed with certain modifications. Accordingly the British Minister at Lisbon gave, on the 14th October, 1890, formal notice to the Portuguese Government for the termination of the Treaty at the completion of the twelve years for which it was originally concluded. Both Governments, however, expressed their willingness for a renewal of the Treaty on such modified terms as might be considered mutually advantageous. With the termination of this Treaty, a Convention signed at Panjim on the 20th January, 1880, for the extradition of criminals, and also one signed shortly afterwards respecting money, weights, and measures, also terminated on the 4th February, 1892.

Arrangements were made early in 1891 for the commencement of negotiations with a view to the renewal of the Treaty, and to this end Señor Joaquim José Fernando Arez was appointed delegate on behalf of the Portuguese Government, and Mr. A. D. Carey was nominated to represent the British Indian Government. Negotiations were carried on at Lisbon until February, 1892, but as there then appeared no prospects of these leading to any result, they were broken off, and the Treaty was allowed to lapse without being renewed in any modified form.

On the 8th January, 1891, a decree was passed relieving

Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes of the Government of India, and appointing Francisco Maria da Cunha to succeed him as Governor-General. He only held that office for about thirteen months, and was followed by Francisco Teixeira da Silva, who was appointed by a decree of the 4th February, 1892.

CHAP. XVII. A.D. 1893-94.

On the 8th February, Senhor Christovão Pinto drew attention in the Chamber of Deputies at Lisbon to the effect of the termination of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, and it was claimed that, as in the preamble it was declared that that Treaty was entered into as a substitute for the privileges accorded to Portuguese commerce at Surat, those privileges should be revived as a natural consequence of the Treaty having been allowed to lapse. A claim was accordingly made by Portugal for the restoration of those Surat privileges, or, failing their restoration, for adequate compensation for the loss. The British Government, however, considered that as those privileges had remained in disuetude for a period of six years before the Treaty of 1878 was agreed to, the denunciation of that Treaty should naturally be followed by a return to the *status quo ante*. Under these circumstances they held that these claims were absolutely extinct and no longer open to further discussion.

Francisco Teixeira da Silva was relieved of his office by decree of the 9th March, 1893, and by a similar document, dated two days later, Raphael Jacome Lopes de Andrade was appointed Governor-General of India, and he is the present incumbent of that office.

APPENDIX A.

BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

DATED 4TH MAY, 1493.

Alexander, Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Clarissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando Regi, et Clarissimæ in Christo filiæ Elizabeth Reginæ Castellæ, Legionis, Aragonum, Sciliæ, et Granatæ, illustribus, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Inter cætera Divinæ majestatis beneplacita opera et cordis nostri desiderabilia illud perfecto potissimum existit, ut fides Catholica et Christiana religio nostris præsertim temporibus exaltetur, ac ubilibet amplietur et dilatetur, animarumq' salus procuretur, ac barbaricæ nationes deprimantur, et ad fidem ipsam reducantur, unde cum ad hanc sacram Petri sedem, Divina favente clementia (meritis licet imparibus), evecti fuerimus, cognoscentes vos tanquam veros Catholicos Reges et Principes, quales semper fuisse novimus, et a vobis præclare gesta toti pæne jam orbi notissima demonstrant, nedum id exoptare, sed omni conatu, studio et diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impensis, nullisq' parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo efficere, ac omnem animum vestrum, omnesq' conatus ad hoc jamdudum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio regni Granatæ a tirannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos, cum tanta Divini nominis gloria, facta testatur; digne duximus non immerito et debemus illa vobis etiam sponte et favorabiliter concedere. per quæ hujusmodi sanctum et laudabile ac immortali Deo acceptum propositum in dies ferventiori animo ad ipsius Dei honorem et imperii Christiani propagationem prosequi valeatis.

Sane accepimus quod vos dudum animo proposueritis aliquas insulas et terras firmas remotas et incognitas, ac per alios hactenus non repertas quærere et invenire, ut illarum incolas et habitatores ad colendum Redemptorem nostrum, et fidem Catholicam profitendum reduceretis, sed hactenus in expugnatione et recuperatione ipsius regni Granatæ plurimum occupati, hujusmodi sanctum et laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequivistis; sed tandem, sicut Domino

placuit, regno prædicto recuperato, volentes desiderium adimpleri vestrum, dilectum filium Christoforum Columbum, virum utiq' dignum et plurimum commendandum ac tanto negocio aptum, cum navigiis et hominibus ad similia instructis, non sine maximis laboribus et periculis ac expensis destinatis, ut terras firmas et insulas remotas et incognitas hujusmodi per mare, ubi hactenus navigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret.

Qui tandem Divino auxilio facta extrema diligentia in mare Oceano navigantes certas insulas remotissamas et etiam terras firmas, quæ per alios hactenus repertæ non fuerant, invenerunt: in quibus quamplurimæ gentes pacifice viventes et, ut asseritur, nudæ incedentes, nec carnibus vescentes inhabitant, et, ut præfati nuntii vestri possunt opinari, gentes ipsæ in insulis et terris prædictis habitantes credunt unum Deum Creatorem in Cœlis esse, ad fidem Catholicam amplexandum, et bonis moribus imbuendum satis apti videntur, spesq' habetur, quod si erudientur, nomen Salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi in terris et insulis prædictis faterentur, ac præfatus Christoforus in una ex principalibus insulis prædictis jam unam turrim satis munitam, in qua certos Christianos, qui secum iverant, in custodiam, ut alias insulas ac terras firmas, remotas et incognitas inquirerent, posuit, construi et ædificari fecit.

In quibus quidem insulis et terris jam repertis aurum, aromata, et aliæ quamplurimæ res pretiosæ diversi generis et diversæ qualitatis reperiunter.

Unde omnibus diligenter et præsertim fidei Catholicæ exaltatione et dilatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges et Principes) consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum claræ memoriæ regum terras firmas et insulas prædictas illarumq' incolas et habitatores vobis Divina favente clementia subjicere, ad fidem Catholicam reducere proposuistis. Nos igitur hujusmodi vestrum sanctum et laudabile propositum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes, ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur, et ipsum nomen Salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quamplurimum in Domino et per sacri Lavacri susceptionem, qua mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis, et viscera misericordiæ Domini Jesu Christi attente requirimus, ut cum expeditionem hujusmodi omnino prosequi et absumere proba mente, orthodoxæ fidei zelo intendatis, populos in hujusmodi insulis et terris degentes ad Christianam religionem suscipiendam inducere velitis et debeatis, nec pericula nec labores ullo unquam tempore vos deterreant, firma spe fiduciaq' conceptis, quod Deus omnipotens conatus vestros feliciter prosequetur.

Et ut tanti negotii provinciam Apostolicæ gratiæ largitate donati

liberius et audacius assumatis, motu proprio, non ad vestram vel alterius pro vobis super hac nobis oblatæ petitionis instantia, sed de nostra mera liberalitate, et ex certa scientia, ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas versus occidentem et meridiem; fabricando et construendo unam lineam a Polo Arctico scilicet septentrione, ad Polum Antarcticum, scilicet meridiem (sive terræ firmæ et insulæ inventæ et inveniendæ sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcunq' partem), quæ linea distet a qualibet insularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores y Cabo Verde, centum leucis versus occidentem et meridiem: ita quod omnes insulæ et terræ firmæ repertæ et reperiendæ, detectæ et detegendæ a præfata linea versus occidentem et meridiem per alium regem aut principem Christianum non fuerint actualiter possessæ, usq' ad diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proxime præteritum, a quo incipit annus præsens millesimus quadrigentesimus nonagesimus tertius; quando fuerint per nuncios et capitaneos vestros inventæ aliquæ prædictarum insularum, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro concessa, ac Vicariatus Jesu Christi, qua fungimur in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominiis, civitatibus, castris, locis, et villis, juribusq' et jurisdictionibus ac pertinentiis universis; vobis, hæridibusq' et successoribus vestris Castellæ et Legionis regibus in perpetuum tenore præsentium donamus, concedimus, assignamus, vosq' et hæredes ac succesores præfatos illarum Dominos cum plena, libera, et omnimoda potestate, auctoritate, et jurisdictione, facimus, constituimus, et deputamus.

Decernentes nihilominus per hujusmodi donationem, concessionem, et assignationem nostram nulli Christiano principi, qui actualiter præfatas insulas et terras firmas possederit usq' ad dictum diem nativitatis Domini Jesu Christi jus quæsitum, sublatum intelligi posse aut auferri debere. Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ (sicut pollicemini, et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione et regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ut ad terras firmas et insulas prædictas viros probos et Deum timentes, doctos, peritos, et expertos ad instruendum incolas et habitatores præfatos in fide Catholica, et bonis moribus imbuendum destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmissis adhibentes.

Ac quibuscunq' personis, cujuscunq' dignitatis, etiam imperialis et regalis, status, gradus, ordinis, vel conditionis sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna quam eo ipso, si contrafecerint, incurrant, districtius inhibemus; ne ad insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas detectas et detegendas versus occidentem et meridiem, fabricando et construendo lineam a Polo Arctico ad Polum Antarcticum, sive terræ firmæ et insulæ inventæ et inveniendæ sint versus Indiam aut versus

aliam quamcunq' partem, qua linea distet a qualibet insularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores y Cabo Verde, centum leucis versus occidentem et meridiem, ut præfertur, pro mercibus habendis, vel quavis alia de causa accedere præsumant, absq' vestra, ac heredum et successorum vestrorum prædictorum licentia speciali.

Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis, cæterisq' coutrariis quibuscunq' : in illo, a quo imperia et dominationes ac bona cuncta procedunt, confidentes, quod dirigente Domino actus vestros, si hujusmodi sanctum et laudabile propositum prosequamini, brevi tempore cum felicitate et gloria totius populi Christi vestri labores et conatus exitum felicissimum consequantur.

Verum quia difficile foret præsentes litteras ad singula quoq' loca in quibus expediens fuerit, deferri, volumus, ac motu et scientia similibus decernimus, quod illarum transumptis manu publici Notarii rogati subscriptio et sigillo alicujus personæ in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ, seu Curiæ Ecclesiasticæ munitis, ea prorsus fides in judicio, et extra, ac alias ubilibet adhibentur, quæ præsentibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ vel ostentæ.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ commendationis, hortationis, requisitionis, donationis, concessionis, assignationis, constitutionis, deputationis, decreti, mandati, inhibitionis et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contra ire.

Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tertio, quarto nonas Maii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF VICEROYS, GOVERNORS, &c., OF PORTUGUESE INDIA.

1.	Dom Francisco de Almeida (*Viceroy*)	1505-1509
2.	Alfonso de Albuquerque (*Governor*)	1509-1515
3.	Lopo Soares de Albergaria (*Governor*)...	1515-1518
4.	Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (*Governor*)	1518-1521
5.	Dom Duarte de Menezes (*Governor*)	1521-1524
6.	Dom Vasco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira (*Viceroy*)	1524
7.	Dom Henrique de Menezes (*Governor*)	1525-1526
8.	Lopo Vaz de Sampaio (*Governor*)	1526-1529
9.	Nuno da Cunha (*Governor*)	1529-1538
10.	Dom Garcia de Noronha (*Viceroy*)	1538-1540
11.	Dom Estevão da Gama (*Governor*)	1540-1542
12.	Martim Affonso de Sousa (*Governor*)	1542-1545
13.	Dom João de Castro (*Governor and Captain-in-chief*) ...	1545-1547
	,, ,, (*Viceroy*)	1547-1548
14.	Garcia de Sá (*Governor*)	1548-1549
15.	Jorge Cabral (*Governor*)...	1549-1550
16.	Dom Affonso de Noronha (*Viceroy*)	1550-1554
17.	Dom Pedro Mascarenhas (*Viceroy*)	1554-1555
18.	Francisco Barreto (*Governor*)	1555-1558
19.	Dom Constantino de Braganza (*Viceroy*)	1558-1561
20.	Dom Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo (*Viceroy*)	1561-1564
21.	João de Medonça (*Governor*)	1564
22.	Dom Antonio de Noronha (*Viceroy*)	1564-1568
23.	Dom Luiz de Athaide (*Viceroy*)	1568-1571
24.	Dom Antonio de Noronha (*Viceroy*)	1571-1573
25.	Antonio Moniz Barreto (*Governor*)	1573-1576
26.	Dom Diogo de Menezes (*Governor*)	1576-1578
27.	Dom Luiz de Athaide (*Viceroy*)	1578-1581
28.	Fernão Telles de Menezes (*Governor*)	1581

29.	Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, Conde da Villa da Horta (*Viceroy*)	1581-1584
30.	Dom Duarte de Menezes, Conde de Tarouca (*Viceroy*)	1584-1588
31.	Manoel de Sousa Coutinho (*Governor*)...	1588-1591
32.	Mathias de Albuquerque (*Viceroy*)	1591-1597
33.	Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde da Vidigueira (*Viceroy*)	1597-1600
34.	Ayres de Saldanha (*Viceroy*)	1600-1605
35.	Martim Affonso de Castro (*Viceroy*)	1605-1607
36.	Dom Fr. Aleixo de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa (*Governor*)	1607-1609
37.	André Furtado de Mendonça (*Governor*)	1609
38.	Ruy Lourenço de Tavora (*Governor*)	1609-1612
39.	Dom Jeromymo de Azevedo (*Viceroy*)...	1611-1617
40.	Dom João Coutinho, Conde de Redondo (*Viceroy*) ...	1617-1619
41.	Fernão de Albuquerque (*Governor*)	1619-1622
42.	Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira (*Viceroy*)	1622-1627
43.	Dom Fr. Luiz de Brito, Bishop of Meliapor (*Governor*)	1627-1628
44.	Nuno Alvarez Botello; Dom Lourenço da Cunha; Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca (*Commission*)	1628-1629
45.	Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares (*Viceroy*)	1629-1635
46.	Pero da Silva (*Viceroy*)	1635-1639
47.	Antonio Telles des Menezes (*Governor*)	1639-1640
48.	João da Silva Tello de Menezes, Conde de Aveiras (*Viceroy*)	1640-1646
49.	Dom Filippe Mascarenhas (*Viceroy*)	1646-1651
50.	Dom Fr. Francisco dos Martyres; Francisco de Mello de Castro; Antonio de Sousa Coutinho (*Commission*)	1651-1652
51.	Dom Vasco Mascarenhas, Conde de Obidos (*Viceroy*)	1652-1653
52.	Dom Braz de Castro (*A Usurper*)	1653-1655
53.	Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira, Conde de Sarzedas (*Viceroy*)	1655-1656
54.	Manoel Mascarenhas Homem; Francisco de Mello de Castro; Antonio de Sousa Coutinho (*Commission*)	1656-1661
55.	Luiz de Mendonça Furtado; Dom Pedro de Lancastre (*Commission*)	1661-1662
56.	Antonio de Mello e Castro (*Governor*)	1662-1663
57.	João Nunes da Cunha, Conde de S. Vicente (*Viceroy*)	1666-1668
58.	Antonio de Mello e Castro (*relative of the Viceroy of the same name*); Luiz de Miranda Henriques; Manoel Corte-Real de Sampaio (*Commission*) ...	1668-1671
59.	Luiz de Mendonça Furtado de Albuquerque, Conde de Lavradio (*Viceroy*)	1671-1677

60. Dom Pedro de Almeida, Conde de Assumar (*Viceroy*) 1677-1679
61. Dom Fr. Antonio Brandão, Archbishop Primate; Antonio Paes de Sande; Francisco Cabral de Almada (*Commission*) 1679-1681
62. Francisco de Tavora, Conde de Alvor (*Viceroy*) ... 1681-1686
63. Dom Rodrigo da Costa (*Governor*) 1686-1690
64. Dom Miguel de Almeida (*Governor*) 1690-1691
65. Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lancastre; Luiz Gonçalves Cotta (*Commission*) 1691
65A. Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lancastre; Dom Fr. Agostinho da Annunciacão, Archbishop of Goa (*Commission*) 1691-1693
66. Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha, Conde de Villa Verde (*Viceroy*) 1693-1698
67. Antonio Luiz Gonçalves da Camara Coutinho (*Viceroy*) 1698-1701
68. Dom Fr. Agostinho da Annunciacão, Archbishop of Goa; Dom Vasco Luiz Coutinho, Colonel of Infantry (*Commission*) 1701-1703
69. Caetano de Mello de Castro (*Viceroy*) 1703-1707
70. Dom Rodrigo da Costa (*Viceroy*) 1707-1712
71. Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes (*Viceroy*) ... 1712-1717
72. Dom Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha, Archbishop-Primate (*Governor*) 1717
73. Dom Luiz de Menezes, Conde de Ericeira (*Viceroy*) ... 1717-1720
74. Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro (*Viceroy*) ... 1720-1723
75. Dom Christovão de Mello (*Governor*) 1723
75A. Dom Christovão de Mello; Dom Ignacio de Santa Thereza, Archbishop Primate; Christovão Luiz de Andrade, Chancellor of the State (*Commission*) ... 1723-1725
76. João de Saldanha da Gama (*Viceroy*) 1725-1732
77. Dom Ignacio de Santa Thereza, Archbishop-Primate; Dom Christovão de Mello; Thomé Gomes Moreira (*Commission*)... 1732
78. Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, Conde de Sandomil (*Viceroy*) 1732-1741
79. Dom Luiz de Menezes, Conde de Ericeira (*Viceroy*)... 1741-1742
80. Dom Francisco de Vasconcellos, Bishop of Cochin; Dom Luiz Caetano de Almeida (*Commission*) ... 1742-1743
80A. Dom Lourenço de Noronha, Councillor of the State; Dom Luiz Caetano de Almeida (*Commission*) ... 1743-1744
81. Dom Pedro Miguel de Almeida e Portugal, Conde de Assumar, Marquez de Castello Novo (*Viceroy*) ... 1744-1750
82. Francisco de Assis, Marquez de Tavora (*Viceroy*) ... 1750-1754

83. Dom Luiz Mascarenhas, Conde de Alva (*Viceroy*) ... 1754-1756
84. Dom Antonio Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira, Archbishop; João de Mesquita Matos Teixeira, Chancellor of the State; Filippe de Valladares Souto Maior (*Commission*) 1756
85. Manoel de Saldanha de Albuquerque, Conde da Ega (*Viceroy*) 1756-1765
86. Dom Antonio Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira, Archbishop; João Baptista Vaz Pereira, Chancellor of the State; Dom João José de Mello, Comptroller-General of the Exchequer (*Commission*) 1765-1768
87. Dom João José de Mello (*Governor*) 1768-1774
88. Filippe de Valladares Souto Maior (*Governor*) ... 1774
89. Dom José Pedro da Camara (*Governor and Captain-General*) 1774-1779
90. Dom Frederico Guilherme de Souza (*Governor and Captain-General*) 1779-1786
91. Francisco da Cunha e Menezes (*Governor and Captain-General*) 1786-1794
92. Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral (*Governor and Captain-General*) 1794-1807
93. Bernardo José de Lorena, Conde de Sarzedas (*Viceroy and Captain-General*) 1807-1816
94. Dom Diogo de Souza, Conde de Rio Pardo (*Viceroy and Captain-General*) 1816-1821
95. Manoel Godinho da Mira, Field-Marshal; Joaquim Manoel Correia da Silva e Gama, Field-Marshal; Manoel José Gomes Loureiro, Gonçalo de Magalhães Teixeira, Manoel Duarte Leitao (*Chief Magistrates*) (*Commission*)... 1821-1822
96. Dom Manoel da Camara (*Captain-General*) 1822-1824
   „ „ (*Viceroy and Captain-General*) 1824-1825
97. Dom Fr. Manoel de S. Galdino, Archbishop; Candido José Mourão Garcez Patha; Antonio Ribeiro de Carvalho (*Commission*) 1825-1827
98. Dom Manoel de Portugal e Castro (*Governor*)... ... 1827-1830
   „ „ „ (*Viceroy*) 1830-1835
99. Bernardo Peres da Silva (*Prefect*) 1835
   Several Provincial Committees successively appointed 1835-1837
100. Simão Infante de Lacerda, Barão de Sabroso (*Governor-General*) 1837-1838

101. Dom Antonio Feliciano de Santa Rita, Archbishop Elect; José Antonio Vieira da Fonseca; José Cancio Freire de Lima; Domingos José Mariano Luiz (*Council of the Government*) 1838-1839
102. José Antonio Vieira da Fonseca (*Interim Governor-General*) 1839
103. Manoel José Mendes, Barão de Candal (*Governor-General*) 1839-1840
104. José Antonio Vieria da Fonseca; José Cancio Freire de Lima; Antonio João de Athaide; Domingos José Mariano Luiz; José da Costa Campos; Caetano de Sousa e Vasconcellos (*Council of the Government*) ... 1840
105. José Joaquim Lopes de Lima (*Interim Governor-General*) 1840-1842
106. Antonio Ramalho de Sá; Antonio José de Mello Souto Maior Telles; Antonio João de Athaide; José da Costa Campos; Caetano de Sousa e Vasconcellos (*Council of the Government*) 1842
107. Francisco Xavier da Silva Pereira, Conde das Antas (*Governor-General*) 1842-1843
108. Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha (*Governor-General*) ... 1843-1844
109. José Ferreira Pestana (*Governor-General*) 1844-1851
110. José Joaquim Januario Lapa, Barão, and afterwards Visconde de Villa Nova de Ourem (*Governor-General*) 1851-1855
111. Dom Joaquim de Santa Rita Botelho, Bishop Elect of Cochin; Luiz da Costa Campos; Francisco Xavier Peres; Bernardo Hector da Silveira e Lorena; Victor Anastacio Murão Garcez Palha (*Council of the Government*) 1855
112. Antonio Cesar de Vasconcellos Correia, Visconde, and afterwards Conde de Torres Novas (*Governor-General*) 1855-1864
113. José Ferreira Pestana (*Governor-General*) 1864-1870
114. Januario Correia de Almeida, Visconde de Januario (*Governor-General*) 1870-1871
115. Joaquim José de Macedo e Coutro (*Governor-General*) 1871-1875
116. João Tavares de Almeida (*Governor-General*)... ... 1875-1877
117. Dom Ayres de Ornellas e Vasconcellos, Archbishop-Primate; João Caetano da Silva Campos; Francisco Xavier Soares da Veiga; Eduardo Augusto Pinto Balsemão (*Council of the Government*) 1877
118. Antonio Sergio de Souza, Visconde de Sergio (*Governor-General*) 1877-1878

119. Dom Ayres de Ornellas e Vasconcellos, Archbishop Primate; João Caetano da Silva Campos; Francisco Xavier Soares da Veiga (subsequently replaced by Thomas Nunes da Serva e Moura); Antonio Sergio de Souza, junior (subsequently replaced by Eduardo Augusto Pinto Balsemão) (*Council of the Government*) 1878
120. Caetano Alexandre de Almeida e Albuquerque (*Governor-General*) 1878-1881
121. Carlos Eugenio Corrêa da Silva, Visconde de Paço de Arcos (*Governor-General*) 1881-1885
122. Francisco Joaquim Ferreira de Amaral (*Governor-General*) 1885-1886
123. Augusto Cesar Cardoso de Carvalho (*Governor-General*) 1886-1889
124. Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes (*Governor-General*) 1889-1891
125. Francisco Maria da Cunha (*Governor-General*) ... 1891-1892
126. Francisco Teixeira da Silva (*Governor-General*) ... 1892-1893
127. Raphael Jacome Lopes de Andrade (*Governor-General*) 1893

APPENDIX C.

HEROES OF THE EPIC PERIOD.

The Viceroys and Governors having been given in a separate Appendix, are not all included in this list.

Abrantes, Dom João de Almeida, second Conde de.
Abreu, Aleixos de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom (Portugal).
,, , Antonio de, Discoverer of the Moluccas, and Captain-mor of Malacca.
,, , Inofre de, Brother of Francisco de Abreu.
,, , João de, of the Island of Madeira, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , João Gomes de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Jorge de, second personage of the Embassy of Dom Rodrigo de Lima to the Prester John.
,, , Lopo de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Simão de, Captain of a ship that was burnt by the Lancharas.
,, , Vasco Gomes de, Captain-mor of Bintang fleets.
Afonseca, Duarte de, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Lucas de, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Pero de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Afonso, Alvaro, Captain of a catur.
,, , Duarte, boatswain of Affonso de Albuquerque's ship.
,, , Mestre, Affonso de Albuquerque's doctor.
,, , Simão, Captain of a vessel for the Moluccas.
Agostinho, fr., the friar who carried a cross to war before the Governor Nuno da Cunha.
Aguiar, André de, Captain of a Latine caravel.
,, , Jorge de, Captain-mor of a fleet of the kingdom.
,, , Jorge de, Comptroller of Antonio da Silveira, Captain of Diu.
,, , Pero Afonso de, Captain mor of fleets.

Albuquerque, Braz de, son of Dom Affonso de Albuquerque, afterwards called Affonso de Albuquerque.
,, , Francisco de, Captain-mor of a royal fleet.
,, , Francisco de, a converted Jew, and married in Goa.
,, , Dom João Affonso de, Bishop of Goa.
,, , Jorge de, Captain-mor of a royal fleet and Captain of the fortress of Malacca.
,, , Manoel de, Captain-mor of a fleet.
,, , Pero de, nephew of Affonso de Albuquerque and Captain of the fortress of Ormuz.
,, , Vicente de, nephew of Affonso de Albuquerque.
Alcaceva, Simão de, Captain-mor of a fleet of junks.
Almada, Fernão Martins de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , João Vaz de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Almança, Lopo de, a valiant cavalleiro who formed part of Dom Christovam da Gama's expedition to the Prester John.
Almeida, Dom Antonio de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom, and messenger to the Castilians of Maluco.
,, , Christovam de, Commissary of supplies of the hospital of Malacca.
,, , Diogo de, Courier to the King of Ceylon.
,, , Dom Diogo de, Captain of Goa.
,, , Dom Diogo Fernandes de, Prior of Crato.
,, , Duarte de, chief Equerry of Goa.
,, , Dom Francisco de, patrol in the fortress of Diu.
,, , Gaspar de (or Gaspar da Gama), Jewish Captain in chief of the sea of Sabayo, and Interpreter, after his conversion.
,, , Gaspar de, Captain of a galley.
,, , Gonçalo de, a Moorish fidalgo, who was killed in the taking of Malacca.
,, , Gonçalo de, in the suite of Affonso de Albuquerque, in the interview with the Zamorin.
,, , Dom João de, second Conde de Abrantes.
,, , João de, captured, with Francisco Pacheco, by Solyman Bashaw.
,, , Dom João de, Captain of the fort of S. Iago, in Diu.
,, , Dom Lopo de, Captain of Sofala.
,, , Dom Lourenço de, son of the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida, and chief Captain of the sea of India.
,, , Luiz de, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Pedro Alvares de, interim Auditor of India.

Almeida, Dom Pedro de, chief Commander of Aviz.
Alpoym, Pero de, Auditor and interim Secretary of India.
Alvarenga, Jorge de, of the retinue of the Embassy of D. Rodrigo de Lima to Abyssinia.
,, , Pero de, Captain of a parao.
Alvares, Bastião, Secretary in the factory of Cannanore.
,, , Duarte, a married man of Malacca and Captain of a large caravel.
,, , Francisco, Writer and Chaplain of the Embassy of Dom Rodrigo de Lima to the Prester John.
,, , Francisco, Secretary of India, under the Government of Jorge Cabral.
,, , Gonçalo, Captain of a ship, and subsequently chief Pilot in India.
,, , João, a soldier who distinguished himself at Aden.
,, , Jorge, Captain of a junk.
,, , Lopo, Captain of a junk.
,, , Luiz, Captain of the castle on the heights between the rivers of Cranganor and Cochin.
,, , Manoel, a seaman, a great swimmer.
,, , Pedro, servitor of the Conde de Villa Nova.
,, , Rodrigo, entrusted with the secret of the relics of St. Thomé Apostle.
,, , Simão, an Apothecary of Goa, held in much esteem by the Governor, D. João de Castro.
,, , Tristão, factor to the chief Captain, Tristão da Cunha.
Alvim, João Lopes, one of the judges in the case between Lopo Vaz and Pero Mascarenhas.
Amado, Luiz, Captain of a ship of war.
Ameixoeira, João de, a seaman of the first expedition of Vasco da Gama.
Andrade, Fernão Peres de, chief Captain of fleets
,, , Lazaro d', artist of the Embassy of D. Rodrigo de Lima to the Prester John.
,, , Luiz de, factor at the Moluccas.
,, , Nicolao de, Captain of a brigantine.
,, , Simão de, Captain of the fortress of Chaul.
,, , Peres de, Captain of a man-of-war.
André, Gaspar, Captain of a caravel at the Moluccas.
Annes, or Eannes, Cosme, Secretary of India and Overseer of the finances.

Annes, Fernando, Captain of a brigantine.
Anriques, Affonso, Captain of a catur.
,, , Alonso, Captain of a privateer vessel.
,, , Don Antonio, Captain of a galleon.
,, , Dom André, Captain of Pacem.
,, , Fernão, Captain of a junk.
,, , Francisco, Secretary to the factory at Cannanore.
,, , Dom Garcia, Captain of the Moluccas.
,, , Dom João, Captain of a galiot, and afterwards of a ship.
,, , Lopo de Goes, Captain of a small vessel.
,, , Dom Manoel, brother of D. André Anriques, Captain of Pacem.
,, , Manoel de Sousa, Captain of a galleon.
,, , Dom Sancho, a relation of Jorge d'Albuquerque, chief Captain of the sea at Malacca.
Aranha, Dom Heytor, Captain of a vessel of the kingdom.
Aranjo, Antonio de, Captain of a ship of war.
,, , Braz de, Comptroller of the Exchequer.
,, , Fernão de, a married man of Goa.
,, , Manoel de, Captain of a ship of war.
,, , Payo Rodrigues de, chief Alcalde at Diu.
,, , Ruy de, factor, chief Alcalde, and chief Magistrate of Malacca.
Atayde, Alexandre de, or Cufo, a Jewish Interpreter.
,, , Alvaro de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Dom Alvaro de, son of the Conde Almirante and Captain of a ship of the kingdom
,, , Dom Antonio, Conde da Castanheira.
,, , Bastião de, Captain of a war-vessel.
,, , Duarte de, Captain of a ship.
,, , Fernão de, Captain of a war-vessel.
,, , Gabriel de, Captain of Paleacate and of Coromandel.
,, , Dom João de, chief Captain of a relief to Aden.
,, , Lionel de, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Dom Luiz de, Captain of a catur.
,, , Pero de, ship Captain.
,, , Tristão de, Captain at the Moluccas.
,, , Vasco de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Antouguia, Fernão de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Francisco de, Captain of a brigantine.
Aveiro, João de, chief Pilot.

Avelar, João de, Captain of a relief to Nizamaluco.
Ayola, Miguel de, a confidant of the Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa.
Ayora, Francisco de, chief Alcalde at Cochin.
Ayres, Diego, chief Alcalde at Malacca.
,, , Gomes, chief Alcalde at the Moluccas.
,, , Pedro, a bombardier or engineer.
Azambuja, Antonio de, Captain of a vessel of the kingdom.
Azambujo, Pero Vaz, Captain of a vessel of the kingdom.
Azevedo, Antonio de, Captain of a war-vessel.
,, , Antonio de Miranda de, Captain of Pacem and chief Captain of the sea.
,, , Diogo de, Notary of the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral.
,, , Duarte de, Courier to the King of Bengal.
,, , Gaspar de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Gonçalo Gomes de, chief Captain of two war-ships for the relief of the Moluccas.
,, , Lopo de, one of the judges in the dispute between Pero Mascarenhas and Lopo Vaz de Sampayo.
,, , Pedro Alvares de, under chief Captain of the fleet of Fernão Peres de Andrade.
,, , Ruy Gomes de, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Simão de Miranda de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom, and Ambassador to Siam.
Bachão, Natalim de, Clerk in the factory at Goa.
Badarças, João Rodrigues, Captain of a caravel.
Bairros, Christovam de, a relation of Heytor Rodrigues, Captain of Quilon.
,, , Francisco de, Captain of a fusta.
,, , João Figueira de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Baixo, Gonçalo, Factor in Sofala, and afterwards Secretary in the factory of Cannanore.
Baldaya, Fernão, Secretary to the factory in the Moluccas, killed in a fight against the Castilians.
Barba, Fernão Rodrigues, Captain of a galleon.
,, , Pero, Captain of a war-ship for Ceylon.
Barbosa, Diogo, Secretary at the factory of Sofala.
,, , Duarte, Secretary at the factory of Cannanore, Interpreter and Writer.
,, , Duarte, brother-in law and companion of Fernão de Magalhães.
,, , Gil, Secretary of the armada of Pedro Alvares Cabral.

Barbosa, Gil Fernandes, Factor at Cochin.
,, , Gonçalo Gil, interim Factor of Cochym.
Barbuda, Mem Vaz de, Bearer of Appeals for the Governor Pero Mascarenhas.
Barbudo, Antonio de, Auditor-General of India.
,, , Cide, Captain of a vessel of the kingdom.
,, , Duarte, Ensign of the Governor D. João de Castro.
,, , Ruy, Ensign of the Governor Nuno da Cunha.
Barradas, Alvaro, Notary for the Thanadaria of Bardes.
, , Alvaro, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Barreto, Alvaro, Captain of merchant ships.
,, , Alvaro Telles, Captain of ships, and of the fortress of Calicut.
,, , Antonio, Factor in Ceylon.
,, , Ayres Moniz, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Duarte, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Francisco, chief Captain of an armada, and Captain of Bassein.
,, , Jorge, Captain of Cochin.
,, , Manoel Telles, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Nuno, Captain of a galley.
,, , Pero, Captain of trading ships.
,, , Pero, Auditor-General of India.
Barriga, Pero, Captain of a baloon.
Barroso, Jorge, Factor at Cochin.
Bautista, João, Master of a vessel in Fernão de Magalhães' fleet.
Beja, Diogo Fernandes de, Captain of a galley and of ships; Ambassador to Cambay, and chief Captain of the sea.
Bernaldo, Mice, merchant, and Captain of a merchant vessel.
Berredo, Ayres Pereira de, Captain of a Latine caravel.
,, , Francisco Pereira de, Captain of Chaul.
Bixorda, Jorge Lopes, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Bocarro, Francisco, Chief Alcalde of the fortress of Ormuz.
Bonifacio, Alonso de, Secretary to the Custom House of Diu, and Captain of the tower of S. Iago.
Borges, Duarte, captive in the battle in which Dom Lourenço de Almeida was slain.
,, , Pero, Secretary to the factory in the Moluccas.
Borralho, Alvaro, Captain of a parão.
,, , Heytor, Adail or Leader of Goa.
Botelho, Alvaro, Captain of various vessels.
,, , Antonio, Captain of a brigantine.
,, , Diogo, Captain of a Latine caravel.

Botelho, João, Attorney of the Moluccas.
,, , Jane, Joanne, or João Mendes, Ensign of Affonso de Albuquerque.
,, , Manoel, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Manoel, Factor at Cochin.
,, , Pero, Captain of a war-vessel.
,, , Simão, Factor in Ceylon, Captain of Malacca, and Comptroller of the Exchequer.
Boutaca, Jeronymo, Captain of a catur.
Braga, Alvaro de, a companion of Dom Vasco da Gama, and Factor at Sofala.
,, , Luiz de, Ambassador to Cambay.
,, , Pero de, Notary of the Exchequer in Calicut.
Brandão, Diogo, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Luiz, Captain of a caravel.
Braz, Dom, companion of Dom Fernando de Castro in Diu.
,, , Fernão, married barber of Goa, the discoverer of a conspiracy.
Brionis, or Bryones, João de, Factor in Mozambique, and Almoxarife of the arsenal of Ormuz.
Brito, Affonso Vaz de, Captain of a vessel for the rescue of Martim Affonso de Mello and other captives in Bengal.
,, , Alvaro de, Captain of a galleon.
,, , André de, owner of a trading vessel of Malacca.
,, , Antonio de, Captain of the Moluccas.
,, , Antonio de, Captain of Cochin.
,, , Antonio de, the Aged, chief of the infantry.
,, , Christovam de, chief Captain of various fleets, killed in fight with the foists of Dabhol.
,, , Jorge de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Jorge de, Cup-Bearer in chief of the King and Captain of Malacca, where he died.
,, , Jorge de, killed in a war against the Achinese.
,, , Lopo de, Captain of Ceylon.
,, , Lourenço de, Captain of Cannanore.
,, , Manoel de, Captain of Chalé.
Bulhões, Ignacio de, Factor at Ormuz.
Cabral, Jorge, Captain of Malacca, chief Captain of a fleet; Captain of Bassein (*see* also Appendix B).
,, , Lopo, Captain of a small vessel and captive in the routing of D. Lourenço de Almeida.
,, , Pedro Alvares, chief Captain of a fleet and discoverer of Brazil.

Cabreira, Lopo, Factor at Cannanore.
Çacoto, Gonçalo Mendes, Captain of a ship.
Caeyro, Simão, Auditor-General, appointed by the Governor Pero Mascarenhas.
Calataud, Luiz de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Caldeira, Antonio, a captive at Achin, killed at sea.
,, , Fernão, killed by order of Dom Goterre de Monroyo, the Captain of Goa.
Calvo, Diogo, Captain of a freight ship.
Camacho, Diogo, Captain of a Latine caravel.
,, , Duarte, bearer of the news of the death of D. Lourenço de Almeida to the Viceroy D. Francisco de Almeida.
Camello, Diniz, bearer of an appeal of the Governor Pero Mascarenhas.
,, , Fernão, Ambassador to the Nizamaluco, and chief Alcalde of Chaul.
Caminha, Alvaro de, Captain of a fortification in Salsette.
,, , João de, discoverer of the island of Mindanão.
,, , Ruy Gonçalves de, Treasurer of Goa and Procurator of Acede Khan.
Campo, Antonio do, Captain of one of the ships in the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque.
Cansado, Pero, Captain of a foist.
Cão, Gaspar, Captain of various vessels.
,, , Pero, Tutor of D. Lourenço de Almeida and Captain of caravels.
Cardim, Jorge, Comptroller of the house of a brother of the Badur, a refugee of Goa.
Cardoso, Antonio, Captain of a fleet of vessels, killed at the same time as the Sultan Badur.
,, , Antonio, Secretary to the Government of India.
,, , Foster-brother of D. Christovam da Gama; killed in Abyssinia.
,, , Fernão, another Knight of the expedition of the aforesaid Christovam to Abyssinia.
Carnache, Fernand Alvares, Alcalde in chief of Ormuz.
,, , Fernão Vaz, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Pero Vaz, Captain of a foist.
Carneiro, Antonio, a Privy Notary, or Secretary of State.
,, , Antonio, Ensign of Antonio Galvão in Moluccas.
,, , Gonçalo, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Pe., wounded by Alfonso Mergia in the disembarkation of Pero Mascarenhas.

Carneiro, Pe. Vicente, Standard-Bearer of the Cross in the squadron of Diogo da Silveira.

Carthagena, João de, one of the Captains in the fleet of Fernão de Magalhães.

Carvalhinho, João Lopes, chief Pilot of the fleet of Fernão de Magalhães.

Carvalho, Antonio, Notary of the Comptroller of the Exchequer, Captain of a ship of the kingdom, and Factor of Calicut.

,, , Belchior, Factor of the line of Ormuz.

,, , Fernão, Captain of a brigantine of defence of Adem, and slain barbarously in that place.

,, , Fernão, Captain of the bulwark of the sea in the fortress of Diu.

,, , Luiz de, of the expedition of D. Christovam da Gama to Prester John.

,, , Luiz Fernandes de, also of the same expedition.

,, , Luiz Rodrigues de, also of the same expedition.

,, , Martim, nephew of Antonio Correa, Factor of Chaul.

,, , Miguel, Captain of a catur.

,, , Vasco de, Captain of a ship of burden.

,, , Vicente de, Notary of the Factory of Moluccas.

Casco, André, Captain of a galleon.

Castanho, Nuno, a valiant seaman.

,, , Raphael, Captain of a merchant ship.

Castanhoso, Miguel de, a Writer and Companion of D. Christovam da Gama in the expedition to Prester John.

Castello-Branco, D. Antonio de, Captain of a fleet of foists and caturs.

,, , Fernão Rodriques de, Auditor-General and afterwards Comptroller of the Exchequer.

,, , João Gonçalves de, Ambassador to the Adil Khan and Captain of the Passo Seco.

,, , D. Martinho de, Conde de Villa Nova, and Comptroller of the Exchequer of the Kingdom.

,, , Nuno Vaz de, Captain of a ship and Captain of Chalé.

,, , D. Pedro de, Captain of Ormuz.

Castro, Alvaro de, Captain in chief of a fleet of small ships in Ormuz.

,, , D. Alvaro de, a Captain of a brigantine which disappeared.

,, , D. Alvaro de, son of the Governor D. João de Castro, and Captain in chief of the sea of India.

,, , D. Antonio de, Alcalde in chief of the fortress of Moluccas.

Castro, Antonio Mendes de, a servitor of Antonio da Silveira, Captain of Diu.
,, , Arthur de, Captain of a caravel and a fleet of foists.
,, , D. Christovam de, Captain of a foist.
,, , Diogo de, Captain of a vessel to Ceylon.
,, , Fernão de, killed in the wars of Malacca.
,, , Fernão de, Captain of a light ship.
,, , D. Fernando de, son of the Governor D. João de Castro, killed during an explosion in Diu.
,, , Filippe de, Captain in chief of the fleet.
,, , Francisco de, Captain of a galleon.
,, , D. Garcia de, Captain of Goa.
,, , Gonçalo de, Captain of a brigantine.
,, , D. Jorge de, Captain of Moluccas.
,, , Leonel de, Captain of a ship.
,, , Manuel de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Martim de, Captain of a galleon.
,, , Nuno de, Notary to the Receiver of the Custom House of Ormuz.
,, , D. Pedro de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Cayado, Luiz, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Cermenho, João, Examiner.
Cerniche, Anibal, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Diniz, Factor of the fleet of Diogo Mendes de Vascogoncellos.
,, , Mice Vinete, Captain of a ship and Factor of the fleet of Diogo Mendes de Vascogoncellos.
Cerniz, Vinete, Factor.
Cerveira, Diogo, Factor in Bhatkal.
,, , Palos, Captain of a foist.
Chaynho, Garcia, Factor of Malacca.
Chanoca, Gaspar, messenger to Bisnagá.
,, , João, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Lopo, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Ruy Lopes, married in Cochin, and agent of Pero Mascarenhas.
Cheiradinheiro, João Gomes, Captain of the Maldive Islands.
Chichorro, Henrique de Sousa, Captain of Cochin.
,, , Belchor de Sousa, Captain of Cochin.
Coelho, Ayres, Alcalde in chief of Pacem.
,, , Duarte, Alcaide in chief of the fortress of Sunda.
,, , Garcia, Captain of a galiot.
,, , João, Thanadar, and Captain of a brigantine.

Coelho, Martim, Captain of a ship.
  ,, , Nicolau, companion of D. Vasco da Gama in the discovery of India.
Coresma, Pero, Factor of Cochin.
Correa, Antonio, son of Ayres Correa, nephew of the Governor Lopo Soares, and Captain of Cochin.
  ,, , Antonio, Factor of Chaul, and of Bassein.
  ,, , Ayres, Factor to the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral.
  ,, , Christovam, gozil of the Custom House of Chittagong.
  ,, , Diogo, Captain of a kingdom's ship.
  ,, , Diogo, Captain of a foist.
  ,, , Diogo Fernandez, a ship's Captain, and Factor of Cochin.
  ,, , Diogo Mendes, Factor of Quilon.
  ,, , Diogo Rodriques, Factor in Cochin.
  ,, , Francisco, son of Braz Affonso Correa, Magistrate of Lisbon, and Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
  ,, , Francisco, Captain of Quilon.
  ,, , Gaspar, the writer of the Lendas da India, Overseer of works of Goa, and Almoxarife of the Dockyards.
  ,, , Gonçalo Rodriques, Captain of a vessel.
  ,, , João Fernandes, Captain of the Seed Pearl Fishery.
  ,, , Jorge, Notary of the factory of Malacca, and of that of Diu.
  ,, , Martim, Alcalde in chief of Ternate, and Captain of the fortress of Diu.
  ,, , Payo, captive in Cambay.
Corso, or Corço, Silvestre, Captain of a galley.
Corvo, Diogo, Captain of foists.
Costa, Affonso Lopes da, Captain of a ship in the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque.
  ,, , Antonio da, killed in the enterprise of the Marshal against Calicut.
  ,, , Antonio da, killed in the assault of Malacca.
  ,, , Balthasar da, Captain of a foist.
  ,, , Fernão da, Captain of a ship.
  ,, , Garcia da, Notary of the factory of the Moluccas.
  ,, , Garcia da, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
  ,, , João da, Captain and Factor of Sofala.
  ,, , João da, Secretary to the Government of India.
  ,, , Manuel da, Factor of the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque.
  ,, , Nuno da, Captain of a galiot.
  ,, , Ruy da, Factor in Goa.

Costa, Salvador da, Captain of a catur.
,, , Vicente da, Notary of the factory of Goa, and also of the Camara of Goa.
Çoudo or Soudo, Pero, Captain of a brigantine.
Coutinho, Henrique de Mello, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Antonio de Sousa, Captain of the bulwark of the sea in Diu.
,, , D. Estevam, ship's Captain for the kingdom.
,, , Fernão, Ambassador to the Turks.
,, , Francisco, killed close to the Marshal in Calicut.
,, , D. Garcia, Captain of Ormuz.
,, , Gil, Captain of the bulwark S. João in Diu.
,, , D. Gonçalo, Captain of Goa.
,, , Leonel, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , D. Luiz, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Manuel Rodriques, Captain of the fishery.
,, , Martim Affonso de Mello, Captain of the route line to China.
,, , Vasco Fernandes, ship's Captain of the kingdom, and of a galiot.
Covilha, Pero da, a discoverer sent by the King D. João II. to the lands of Prester John.
Criado, João, Factor in Chaul.
Cullatas, Francisco Pereira, Captain of Chaul.
Cunha, Antonio da, Patrol of the fortress of Diu.
,, , Ayres da, Captain of Quilon.
,, , Fernand Alvares de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , D. Francisco, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Francisco da, Captain of Chaul.
,, , Jorge da, killed in Calicut with the Marshal.
,, , Manuel da, ship's Captain, killed in a fight in the lands of Goa.
,, , Manuel da, Captain of Cannanore.
,, , Nuno Leitão da, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Pero Vaz da, brother of the Governor Nuno da Cunha, and Captain of Goa.
,, , Ruy da, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Simão da, brother of the Governor Nuno da Cunha.
,, , Tristão da, Captain in chief of fleets.
,, , Vasco da, Captain of various fleets, and charged with the duty of guarding and succouring the fortress of Diu.
Dantas, Luiz, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Davane, Commission agent of the fleets of Portugal.

Delgado, João, a Knight ordered by Affonso de Albuquerque to be decapitated.

Dias, André, a small Alcalde of Lisbon, ship's Captain, and Factor of Cochin.

,, , Ayres, Factor of Goa.

,, , Bartholomeu, ship's Captain.

,, , Diogo, Factor of Calicut and ship's Captain for the kingdom.

,, , Estevam, Interpreter.

,, , Fernão, a horseman who came to Portugal overland.

,, , Francisco, Notary for the Factor of Calicut, and Factor of Cannanore.

,, , Jeronymo, Captain of a foist.

,, , Lopo, Almoxarife, killed in Calicut.

,, , Vicente, Notary to the Receiver of the Custom House of Ormuz.

Diniz, a Knight mentioned in the taking of Mombassa.

,, , Duarte, Factor of the works of the fortress of Ormuz.

,, , Fernão, Notary of the factory of Cochin.

,, , Simão, Captain of the Tower of Naruha.

Doria, Luiz, Captain of a caravel of supplies.

Doutel, Gaspar, Captain of a *navio redondo* (square sails).

Eça, D. Henrique de, Captain of Cannanore.

,, , D. Fernando de, Captain of a ship.

,, , D. Fernando de, Captain of Cochin.

,, , D. João d', Captain of Goa and of Cannanore.

,, , D. Vasco d', brother-in-law of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo and Captain of Cochin.

Escolar, João, Notary of the Embassage of D. Rodrigo de Lima to the Preste.

Escroco, Pero, a Florentine, Factor in Coromandel.

Espinel, Diogo, Alcalde of the sea of Ormuz.

Espinosa, Gonçalo Gomes de, the companion of Fernão de Magalhaes in his discoveries.

Estão, João, Notary for the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque.

Evangelho, Fernão Martius, Factor in Diu.

Falcão, Antonio Lobo, ship's Captain of the kingdom.

,, , Gonçalo, Captain of the bulwark of S. Thomé in Diu.

,, , Luiz, Captain of the fortresses of Ormuz and of Diu.

,, , Manuel, or Manuel Lobo Falcão, Ensign of the Marshal D. Fernando Coutinho, and Alcalde in chief of Moluccas and of Ormuz.

Faria, Garcia de, Notary of the factory of Calicut.
,, , Pero de, Captain of Goa and of Malacca.
Farinha, João, Pilot.
Farto, Fernão, Captain of a catur.
Fernandes, Alvaro, Justice of the court.
,, , Ambrosio, Meirinho of the fleet of Fernão Magalhaes.
,, , Antonio, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Antonio, the "Ruddy," Captain of a caravel.
,, , Bartholomeu, ship master of Affonso de Albuquerque.
,, , Belchior, foreman stonemason.
,, , Christovam, Captain and master of a trading vessel.
,, , Diniz, Notary of Goa.
,, , Gil, Judicial Attorney in Cochin.
,, , Gonçalo, The Great Captain.
,, , Gonçalo, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Lopo, ship master.
,, , Luiz, Captain of a brigantine.
,, , Miguel, of the suite of the Embassage of D. Rodrigo de Lima to Prester John.
,, , Pero, Auditor-General of India.
,, , Pero, Notary of Goa.
,, , Ruy, Factor of Chaul.
,, , Thomaz, Overseer of works.
,, , Vicente, writer of a message to the Adil Khan.
,, , Vicente, stonemason.
Ferrão, Antonio, page of the Governor D. Henriques de Meneses.
Ferreira, Alvaro, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Antonio, Alcalde in chief of Pacem.
,, , Diogo, Captain of a coiraça in Pangim (? fortification).
,, , Duarte, Factor of Chaul.
Ferreira, Gomes, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Gonçalo Gomes, Factor of Cannanore.
,, , Lopo, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Miguel, Ambassador to the Sheikh Ismael and Captain of Coromandel.
,, , Pero, Captain of Quilon and of Socotra.
,, , Simão, Secretary to the Government of India, and Ambassador to the Badur.
Fialho, Gaspar, Captain of Bassein.
Fidalgo, João, Capain of Militia or *Suissa*.
Figueira, Gonçalo, Captain of a brigantine.

Figueira, Henrique, Captain of Quilon.
,, , Ruy, killed during a naval action against Laquexemena.
,, , Ruy, Captain of a vessel of Moluccas.
Figueiredo, Christovam, Factor in Bisnagá, Attorney of the factory of Goa, and Thanadar in chief.
,, , Jeronymo de, Captain in divers engagements.
,, , Jorge de, Chamberlain of the Viceroy D. Francisco de Almeida.
,, , Ruy de, Factor of Goa.
Figueiro, Pedro de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Fogaça, Antonio Ferreira, Captain of a small ship.
,, , João, Captain of a galley.
,, , Jorge, Captain of a ship, and one of the lovers of the Moorish women guarded by Affonso de Albuquerque.
Fonseca, Antonio do, a Privy Notary of Affonso de Albuquerque.
,, , Domingos da, jailer of Goa.
,, , Duarte da, Captain of a caravel.
,, , João da, one of the Captains in aid of Prester John.
,, , Manuel da, Captain of a foist.
,, , Thomaz da, Auditor of the Moluccas.
,, , Vicente da, Captain of the Moluccas.
Foreiro, Antonio, Notary of the factory of Diu.
Franca, Francisco de, Comptroller to the Governor Lopo Soares.
Francez, Pero Eannes, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Freire, Antonio, Alcalde in chief of Diu.
,, , Bernaldim, ship's Captain.
,, , D. Diogo de Almeida, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Francisco, a valiant Captain of a vessel.
,, , Gomes, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Gomes, Factor of the Moluccas.
Freire, Nuno Fernandes, gozil of the Custom House of Chittagong.
,, , Ruy, ship's Captain of the kingdom, killed in Calicut with the Marshal.
Freitas, Bastião de, Auditor of Malacca.
,, , João de, Captain of divers vessels and Commander of Musketeers.
,, , Jordão de, Captain of the Moluccas.
,, , Jorge de, Factor of Bhatkal.
,, , Martim de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Pero de, Captain of Pangim.
Frias, Manuel de, Captain and Factor of Coromandel.

Froes, Pero, Captain of various vessels.

Froles, João, messenger of the King of Ceylon, Captain and Factor of the Seed Pearl Fishery.

Furtado, Affonso, Captain of a caravel.

,, , Fernão, Captain of a Latine caravel.

Ga, Tristão da, Factor of Diu, Treasurer of Goa, and messenger to the King of Cambay.

Galvão, Antonio, son of Duarte Galvão, and Captain of the Moluccas.

,, , Duarte, chief Chronicler of Portugal and Ambassador to Prester John.

,, , Simão de Sousa, son of the above and Captain in chief of the sea of the Moluccas.

Gama, D. Ayres de, brother of D. Vasco da Gama, and ship's Captain to the kingdom.

,, , D. Ayres da, nephew of D. Vasco da Gama, and Captain of Cannanore.

,, , D. Christovam da, son of D. Vasco da Gama, Captain in chief of the sea of Malacca, and of the relief to Prester John.

,, , D. Estevam de, son of D. Vasco da Gama, Captain in chief of the sea of India, Captain of Malacca, and Governor of India (*see* also Appendix B).

,, , D. Estevam da, a relative of D. Vasco da Gama, and Captain in chief of a fleet of small vessels.

,, , Gaspar da, or Gaspar de Almeida, or Gaspar of the Indies, Captain in chief of the fleet of Sabayo, and afterwards Interpreter.

,, , Lopo da, of the suite of the Embassage of D. Rodrigo de Lima to Prester John.

,, , Manuel da, Captain of the coast of Coromandel.

,, , Paulo da, brother of D. Vasco da Gama, and his companion in the discovery of India.

Gama, D. Paulo da, son of the Admiral Count and Captain of Malacca.

,, , D. Vasco da, discoverer of India, Conde Almirante, Conde da Vidigueira, and Viceroy of India (*see* also Appendix B).

Garcez, Antonio, Captain of a ship.

Garcia, Lourenço, secretary.

Gil, Vicente, shipowner and ship's Captain of the kingdom.

Godinho, Achyles, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.

,, , Alvaro, Captain of a caravel.

,, , Lourenço, Captain of a caravel.

,, , Manoel, messenger for the Kings of Pahang and Patane.

Godins, Pero, Auditor of India.
Gomes, Jeronymo, favourite of the Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa.
,, , João, Notary of the factory of Goa and of an Embassy to Cambay.
,, , João, Chaplain of Tristão da Cunha, and a traveller in Abyssinia.
,, , Pero, cuirassier.
Gonçalves, André, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Balthazar, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Antão, Alcalde of Cezimbra and ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Belchior, Captain of a foist.
,, , Fernão, Captain of a foist.
,, , João, Interpreter to the Embassy of D. Rodrigo de Lima to Abyssinia.
,, , João, Thanadar and Captain of Passo Seco.
,, , João, the owner of a foist.
,, , Nicolau, chief Master of Cochin.
,, , Ruy, Captain of Ordnance.
Gouvea, Francisco de, Captain of the bulwark of the river in the fortress of Diu.
Gra', Pero Gomes da, Captain of a ship.
,, , Ruy Gomes da, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Guedes, Pero Vaz, nephew to Simão Guedes, Captain of Chaul.
,, , Simão, Captain of the fortresses of Bassein.
Guerra, Diogo da, Interpreter in the Moluccas.
Homem, Gaspar, a foreigner, Captain of a Latine caravel.
,, , Gonçalo, messenger to Cambay.
,, , Jan', or João Homem, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Pedr', Captain of a vessel.
Hucefe, Jew, Linguist or Interpreter of Affonso de Albuquerque.
Indias, Gaspar de las, Jew, Interpreter.
Infante, Jan', Captain of a fleet of caravels.
Jacome, Henrique, Alcalde in chief of Socotra.
Jusarte, Christovam, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Fernão, Captain of divers vessels.
,, , Martim Affonso de Mello, Captain of Ormuz.
Lacerda, João Pereira de, Captain of caravels.
,, , Manoel de, Captain in chief of fleets and Captain of the fortresses of Goa and Calicut.

Leão, Henrique Nunes de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Jorge Nunes de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Leitão, João, Captain of a foist.
Leite, Jacome, Captain of the sea of Diu.
,, , João, Captain of a ship.
Leme, Antonio, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Francisco Fernandes, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Martim, Factor and Alcalde in chief of Malacca.
Lemos, André de, Captain of a *navio redondo* (square sails).
,, , Antonio de, Captain of Bassein.
,, , Diogo de, Alcalde in chief and Factor of Ceylon.
,, , Duarte de, nephew of Jorge de Aguiar, and Captain in chief of the Strait of Mecca.
,, , Fernão Gomes de, Ambassador to the Sheikh Ismael, and Captain of Ceylon.
,, , Gaspar de, Captain of a ship in the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral.
,, , Martim de, or Martim de Lemos Soares, Captain of the kingdom's ships.
Ligeiro, Duarte, buyer for the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque, and his spy in Ormuz.
Lima, D. Alvaro de, Captain of Bassein.
,, , Antonio de, Captain of ships of the kingdom.
,, , D. Diogo de, Captain of the fortress of Cochin.
,, , D. Fernando de, ship's Captain of the kingdom and of the fortresses of Goa and of Ormuz.
,, , D. Francisco de, Captain of Goa.
,, , D. João de, Captain of Calicut.
,, , João de Sousa de, Captain in chief of a fleet of the kingdom.
,, , Jorge de, Captain of Chaul.
,, , Leonel de, cousin of D. João de Lima, Captain of a caravel of the kingdom and of the bulwark of the sea in Diu.
Lima, Leonel de, Captain in chief of a fleet of vessels of the Moluccas, and of another for Massuah, and Captain of the fortress of the Moluccas.
,, , D. Manoel de, Captain of the fortresses of Bassein and Ormuz.
,, , D. Rodrigo de, Ambassador to Prester John.
Lis, Fernão de, Meirinho of the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque.
,, , Pero Fernandes de, Factor of Socotra.
Loaisa, D. Frey Garcia de, Captain in chief of a fleet of Castilians for the Moluccas.

Lobato, Bastião Lopes, married in Goa, and Auditor-General.
,, , João, Factor and receiver of the Thanadaria of Bardes.
,, , Manoel, Alderman of the Camara of Cochin.
Lobo, Antonio, Captain of a caravel of the kingdom.
,, , Balthasar de Sousa, Captain of Cannanore.
,, , Diogo, Captain of a Latine caravel and of Pangim.
,, , D. João, Captain of Goa, and Overseer of the dockyards.
,, , Lopo, Captain of a Latine caravel.
,, , Raphael, Captain of a foist.
Lopes, André, Auditor of Malacca.
,, , Fernão, Almoxarife of the arsenal of Cannanore.
,, , Jorge, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Lourenço, nephew of Thomé Lopes and Captain of the kingdom's ships.
,, , Pero, chief Pilot of the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque and Factor of prizes.
Lopo, P. M., one of the Judges in the contention between Lopo Vaz de Sampayo and Pero Mascarenhas.
Loronha, D. Fernando de, Captain of a galley.
Loulé, Gonçalo de, Captain of a caravel.
Lourenço, Diogo, employed in the works of the house of S. Thomé.
,, , Vicente, Matabias of the Algarve, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Luiz, Fr., Franciscan, messenger to the king of Bisnagá.
,, , Bastião, Notary Registrar and Alcalde in chief of Cochin.
,, , João, chief Constable of Cochin.
Macedo, Anrique de, Captain of a Latine galleon.
,, , Antonio de, Auditor-General of India.
,, , Diogo de, Captain of the sea of Malacca.
,, , Manuel de, ship's Captain of galleons and to ships of the kingdom and of the fortress of Bassein.
,, , Nuno Fernandes de, Captain of galleons.
Machado, João, convict and afterwards Leader, Captain, and chief Justice of foot-soldiers of Goa.
,, , Manuel, Captain of the Halberdier Guards of the Governor Nuno da Cunha.
Madeira, Affonso, Overseer of works.
,, , Alvaro, Portuguese Pilot taken captive by the Turks.
Magalhães, João de, Captain in chief of the foist on guard on the Strait of Mecca.
,, Pero Barreto de, Captain in chief of fleets.

Mancyas, Francisco de Sousa, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Manoel, Dom, a Knight who went to the action of Mombassa with the Viceroy D. Francisco de Almeida.
,, , Dom Nuno, Captain of the guards of the King D. Manuel, and shipbuilder.
Marchone, Paulo Belchior, builder of ships for India.
Marrecos, Francisco, Captain of ships of the kingdom and of the fortress of Sofala.
Martius, Diogo, ship's Captain.
,, , Luiz, Captain and Factor of the Maldive Islands.
,, , Simão, ship's Captain.
Mascarenhas, D. João, Captain of a caravel and of the fortress of Diu.
,, , Jorge, Captain of ships for China, &c.
,, , Pero, ship's Captain of the kingdom, of the Ordnance Militia of India, of the fortresses of Cochin, Goa, Malacca, and Governor of India (*see* also Appendix B).
Mattos, Antonio de, ship's Captain.
Mattoso, Braz, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Meira, João de, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Pero de, Captain of a *naveta* (small ship).
Meirelles, Manuel Fernandes de, Factor in Sofala.
Mello, D. Antonio de, ship's Captain.
,, , Arthur de, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Christovam de, nephew of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, and Captain in chief of a fleet.
,, , Diniz Fernandes de, head Master of the dockyard and arsenals of Goa.
,, , Diogo de, Captain of a vessel in the fleet of Vasco Gomez de Abreu.
,, , Diogo de, brother-in-law of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, and Captain of the fortress of Ormuz.
,, , Diogo de, Captain of a ship in the fleet of Filippe de Castro.
,, , Diogo, Pires de, Captain of a galley.
,, , Duarte de, Captain in chief, and Captain of the fortress of Ceylon.
,, , Filippe Rodriques de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Fernão de, Captain of the island of S. Thomé.
,, , Francisco de, Captain of the lands of Salsette, &c.
,, , João de, Captain of a galley.
,, , João Fernandes de, ship's Captain.
,, , Jorge de, Captain of Cannanore.

Mello, Jorge de, the *Punho*, Captain of a catur.
,, , Manuel de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Martim Affonso de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Pero Lourenço de, Captain of ships of the kingdom, and for China.
,, , Ruy de, Captain of Goa.
,, , Ruy Jusarte de, nephew of Ruy de Mello, and Captain of Salsette.
,, , Simão de, nephew of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, and Captain of Cannanore and of Malacca.
Mendes, Affonso, of the suite of the Ambassador D. Rodrigo de Lima to Abyssinia.
,, , Gonçalo, Factor of Calicut.
,, , Jorge, Captain of a vessel.
,, , Ruy, of the Porta da Cruz, Captain of a trading vessel.
Mendoça, Christovam de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Diogo de, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Francisco de, Captain of a ship for the kingdom and of the bulwark of the sea in Diu.
,, , João de, ship's Captain of the kingdom, and of the town of the Rumes in Diu.
,, , Jorge de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Luiz de, one of the Captains in the vessels of the expedition of Fernão de Magalhães.
,, , Luiz de Mello de, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Manuel de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Nuno Furtado de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Pero de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Menezes, D. Affonso de, son of the Conde D. Pedro, cousin of D. Aleixo de Menezes, and Captain of galleys, galleons, &c.
,, , D. Alexis, nephew of the Governor Lopo Soares, and Captain in chief of the sea of India.
,, , D. Alvaro de, Captain of a ship.
,, , D. Antonio de, Captain of a galleon.
,, , D. Antonio da Silva de, Captain in chief of various fleets.
,, , Antonio da Silveira de, brother-in-law of the Governor Nuno da Cunha, and Captain in chief of a fleet, and of the fortress of Ormuz.
,, , D. Francisco de, Captain of the fortress of Bassein, killed in the sally of Diu.

Menezes, Henrique de, nephew of the Governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, and Captain of Chaul.
,, , D. Henrique de, Captain of Goa, and Governor of India (*see* also Appendix B).
,, , D. Henrique de, Captain of Cannanore.
,, , D. Jeronymo de, Captain of Bassein.
,, , D. Jorge de, Captain of the fortress of the Moluccas.
,, , D. Luiz de, brother of the Governor of D. Duarte de Menezes, and Captain in chief of the sea of India.
,, , Pero de, ensign of the Governor D. Henrique de Menezes.
,, , D. Simão de, Captain of the fortress of Cannanore, and Captain in chief of the sea of India.
,, , D. Tristão de, ship's Captain of the kingdom, and of a fleet for the Moluccas.

Mergulhão, Manoel, Inspector of the Exchequer dos Contos.

Mesquita, Alvaro de, companion of Fernão de Magalhães in his voyage to the Pacific.
,, , Diogo de, Ambassador to Turkey.
,, , Fernão de, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Lopo de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Martim de, Captain of a fleet of foists.
,, , Pero de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Ruy Mendes de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.

Mexia, Affonso, a great intriguer, Inspector of the Exchequer, and Captain of Cochin.

Miranda, Diogo Pires de, entrusted with the arsenal of arms of Goa.
,, , Simão de, ship's Captain of the kingdom, and of the fortress of Sofala.

Moniz, Antonio, Captain of a ship of the kingdom, died on the way.
,, , Antonio, Captain of a galiot, and of the relief for Ceylon.
,, , Antonio, son of another Antonio Moniz, ship's Captain of the kingdom.

Monroyo, D. Fernando de, brother of D. Goterre de Monroyo, Captain of Goa, and Captain of a fleet of foists.
,, , D. Goterre de, Captain of Goa.
,, , D. Goterre de, Captain of the castle of the Cape of Gué.
,, , D. João de, nephew of D. Goterre, and Captain in chief of a fleet of foists.
,, , D. Tristão de, Captain of the fortress of Cochin.

Moraes, Fernão de, Captain of various vessels, and of ships of the kingdom.

Moreno, Lourenço, Factor in Cochin, and Captain of a ship of the kingdom.

„ , Luiz, Notary of the factory of Cochin.

Moura, Francisco de, Factor of the fleet of D. Estevam da Gama.

„ , Pero de, Captain of a caravel.

„ , Luiz de, Factor of the fleet of D. Estevam da Gama to the Strait.

„ , Manuel de, Captain of a galleon.

Murzello, Antonio Mendes, Auditor of Ormuz.

Navães, Vicente de, Secretary of India, in the time of the Governor D. Estevam da Gama.

Neves, Alvaro de, Captain of a vessel.

Nhaya, Francisco da, Captain of trading vessels for Sofala.

„ , João da, Captain of a vessel in the same trading line.

„ , Pero da, Captain in chief of a fleet for Sofala, and Captain of the fortress of Sofala.

Nobre, Antão Nogueira, Captain of a galley.

Nogueira, Francisco, ship's Captain of the kingdom, and of the fortress of Calicut.

Noronha, D. Affonso de, nephew of D. Affonso de Albuquerque, and Captain of the fortress of Socotra.

„ , D. Alvaro de, Captain of the fortress of Cochin.

„ , D. Alvaro de, son of the Viceroy D. Garcia de Noronha, and Captain in chief of India.

„ , D. Antonio de, nephew of Affonso de Albuquerque, and Captain of Cochin.

„ , Antonio de, or de Loronha, Captain of a galley.

„ , Bastião de, Captain of a galley.

„ , D. Bernaldo de, son of the Viceroy D. Garcia de Noronha, and Captain in chief of the vessels bound for Bengal.

„ , D. Diogo de, Captain in chief of a ship of the kingdom.

„ , Francisco de, nephew of Affonso de Albuquerque, Captain in chief of a fleet of the kingdom, Captain in chief of the sea, and Viceroy of India (*see* also Appendix B).

„ , D. Jeronymo de, Captain of Bassein.

„ , João Rodriques de, son of the Captain of the island of Madeira, nephew of the Governor D. Duarte de Menezes, and Captain of the fortress of Ormuz.

„ , D. Payo de, Captain in chief of three foists for relieving Aden.

Noronha, D. Sancho de, Captain of the tower of Banestarim.

Nova, João da, Alcalde of Lisbon, Captain in chief of a fleet of the kingdom, and Captain of a ship in the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque against Ormuz.

Novaes, Francisco de, Captain of a ship.

Nunes, Francisco, Captain of a ship for Moluccas.

,, , Pero, Scrivener of the factory of Calicut.

,, , D. Pero, Comptroller of the Exchequer.

Oeiras, João de, a famous cross-bowman.

Oliveira, Gonçalo de, chief Pilot of the fleet of Antonio de Abreu.

Orense, Pero de, Notary of the factory of Malacca.

Ornelas, Pero de, Captain in chief of a fleet.

Orta, Pero Vas de, Factor of the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque.

,, , Ruy Gonçalves de, Scrivener of the Custom House of Diu.

Ortega, Jeronymo de, Notary of works of the fortress of Ormuz.

Paçanha, Antonio, son of Ambrosio Paçanha, and Captain of a bulwark in the fortress of Diu.

,, , João Rodriques, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.

,, , Manuel, Captain of Anjediva.

Pacheco, Antonio, Captain in chief of the sea of Malacca.

,, , Diogo, Captain of a ship.

,, , Duarte, ship's Captain of the kingdom, and Captain in chief, charged with the defence of the kingdom of Cochin.

,, , Fernão, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.

,, , Francisco, Judge and Receiver of customs of the town of the Rumes, and Captain of the bulwark of the same town in Diu.

,, , João, Captain of a foist.

,, , Manuel, Captain of a galleon.

Paes, Gaspar, Spy of the Governor Nuno da Cunha in Diu, Factor of his fleet and Factor of Bassein.

Paiva, Cosmo de, Captain of a caravel.

,, , Gaspar de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom, and judge in the suite of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo and Pero Mascarenhas.

,, , Gonçalo de, Captain of a caravel.

,, , João de, interim Secretary of the Governor Nuno da Cunha.

,, , Lourenço de, Secretary of Affonso de Albuquerque and Captain of a ship of the kingdom.

,, , Luiz Alvares de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.

,, , Tristão de, Captain of a caravel.

Palharte, Estevam, fencer, of the suite of D. Rodrigo de Lima, Ambassador to Prester John.

Pantoja, Francisco, Captain of a ship to Socotra, and Alcalde in chief of Goa.

Patalim, Ruy de Brito, Factor and Alcalde in chief of Sofala, and Captain of the fortress of Malacca.

Payo, D., Captain of a galleon.

Pedrogão, Fernão, married man of Goa, Thanadar of Agassaim.

Pegado, Vicente, Secretary of the Viceroy D. Vasco da Gama, and Captain of Sofala and Mozambique.

Pereira, Affonso, Factor of the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque, and Captain of a foist.

,, , António, Captain in chief of the sea of Malacca.

,, , Ayres, Alcalde in chief of Malacca.

,, , Braz, Captain in chief of the sea of Malacca.

,, , Diogo, Notary of the factory, and afterwards Factor of Cochin, and Captain of the fortress of Chalé.

,, , Diogo, Secretary with the Governor Lopo Soares.

,, , Diogo Botelho, brother of Duarte da Fonseca, and ship's Captain of the kingdom.

,, , Diogo Botelho, son of Antonio Real, Captain of Cochin, and the first to bring to Portugal the news of the taking of Diu.

,, , Duarte, Factor of Anjediva.

,, , Francisco, or Rosticão, Captain of a ship.

,, , Gaspar, a great intriguer, Secretary for India with D. Francisco de Almeida and Affonso de Albuquerque, and Factor of Cochin.

,, , Gaspar, in the suite of D. Rodrigo de Lima, Ambassador to Abyssinia.

,, , Gaspar, Captain of the kingdom's ships, and of the fortress of the Moluccas.

,, , D. João, Captain of Goa.

,, , João, Captain of a caravel.

,, , João Rodriques, Captain of merchant ships.

,, , João de Sá, Factor in Quilon.

,, , Jorge de Mello, Captain in chief of the fleets of the kingdom.

,, , Nuno, married man of Goa, and Captain in chief of a fleet of foists.

,, , Nuno Vaz, district officer of spoils of Mombassa, and Captain of the fortresses of Sofala and of Malacca.

Pereira, Pantaleão, Captain of a catur.
,, , Ruy, Captain of a brigantine.
,, , Ruy Vaz, son of João Rodriques Marramaque, and ship's Captain of the kingdom, and of the fortresses of Chalé and of Malacca.
,, , Tristão, Captain of a Latine caravel.
Pereirinha, João, Captain of a *caravel redondo*, and of a catur for Diu.
Peres, Affonso, Captain of a foist.
,, , Fernão, brother of Simão de Andrade, and Captain in chief of the sea of Malacca.
,, , Fernão, Constable of the fortress of Calicut.
,, , Manuel, Pilot of Diogo Mendes de Vascogoncellos.
Perestrelo, João Lopes, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Raphael, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Pessoa, Antonio, Factor and Alcalde in chief of Ceylon, and Overseer of the docks.
,, , Balthasar, Ambassador to the Sheikh Ismael.
Pestana, Francisco Pereira, ship's Captain of the kingdom and of the fortresses of Quilon and of Goa.
Peteira, Diogo Fernandes, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Pimentel, Diogo de Mesquita, brother of Lopo de Mesquita, captive in Cambay, and author of "A Legend of Badur."
Pina, Gaspar de, Captain of the guard of the Governor Dom Estevam da Gama, and Captain of a caravel.
Pinheiro, Alvaro, Auditor of Ormuz.
,, , Francisco, son of Martim Pinheiro, Magistrate of the capital.
,, , João, Captain of a caravel of the kingdom.
,, , Martim, a Magistrate of the capital.
Pinto, Cosmo, Captain of a vessel of the fleet of D. Luiz de Menezes.
,, , João da Cunha, Captain of a ship for the discovery of Mindanão.
,, , Alonso, Captain of a junk.
,, , Diogo, Constable in the fortress of Calicut.
,, , Diogo, Captain of a galley.
,, , Francisco, master of the works, employed in the reconstruction of the fortifications of Diu.
,, , Gaspar, Factor and Receiver of Bassein.
Pires, Luiz, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Pormão, Pero Vaz, Captain of a watch tower.

Pousado, Domingos, Captain of a foist.
,, , João, Captain of a catur.
Prego, Lourenço, Captain of the foot-soldiers of Goa.
Preto, Gaspar, Captain of a foist.
,, , Luiz, Captain of a brigantine.
Punho, Ruy de Mello, the, Captain of Goa.
Quadreira, Gregorio da, Captain of a brigantine.
Quaresma, Pero, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Queimado, Job, Captain of a ship of burthen.
Queiroz, João de, Captain of a vessel.
,, , Manuel de, Factor in Ceylon.
Quesada, Gaspar de, Captain of a ship in the expedition of Fernão de Magalhães.
,, , Pero de, Captain of a ship in the expedition of Fernão de Magalhães.
Rabello, Antonio, Factor of the fleet of Diogo Pereira de Sampayo.
,, , Diogo, brother-in-law of Diogo Fernandes de Beja, Factor in Cochin, and Captain of the pearl fishery of Coromandel.
,, , Lopo, Notary of the Exchequer of Quilon, and Captain of a ship to the kingdom.
,, , Pero, Factor of a ship.
,, , Rodrigo, Captain of a coastguard fleet, and of the fortresses of Cannanore and of Goa.
Ramires, João, Captain of the guard of Affonso de Albuquerque.
Raphael, Alvaro, brother of Pero Raphael, and Factor of Calicut.
,, , Pero, Captain of a caravel.
Raposo, Antonio, Notary of Sofala, Captain of a vessel and of a ship, and Thanadar of Ponda.
,, , Balthasar Rodrigues, Captain of a sailing vessel.
,, , Pero Fernandez, Captain of a *caravel redondo* (square sails).
Rates, João de Sousa, Captain of a fleet of galleys.
Ravasco, Ruy Lourenço, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Real, Antonio, Captain of the fortress of Cochin, and a great intriguer.
Rego, Ambrosio de, Captain in chief of a fleet for Coromandel, and Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
Reinoso, Diogo de, son of Fernão Eannes de Soutomayor, and Captain of fleets of foists.
Resende, Filippe de, Factor of Quilon.
,, , Fernão de, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Fernão de, Captain of a caravel.

Resende, Manuel de, Factor of the fleet of Dom Francisco de Almeida.
Rico, Antonio, Secretary of India, with the Governor Lopo Vaz de Sampayo.
Rodrigues, Antonio, Factor of Diu.
,, , Diogo, Captain of a brigantine.
,, , Filippe, Captain of a caravel of the kingdom, and of a brigantine.
,, , Gaspar, Interpreter.
,, , Heytor, Factor in Quilon, and Captain of the fortress.
,, , Jacome, Almoxarife of the arsenals and supplies.
,, , Miguel, Captain of the lands of Salsette.
,, , Payo, Captain of the fortress of Cochin.
Rosado, Christovam, Captain of a Latine caravel.
Sa', Antonio de, Factor of Quilon.
,, , Bastião de, Captain in chief of a fleet for the coast of Malabar.
,, , Belchior de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Christovam de, Captain of a ship, and of a galley.
,, , Diogo de, page of the bedchamber of the King, and Captain of a barcaça.
,, , Diogo Pires de, Captain of a catur.
,, , Francisco, de, Captain of a ship for the kingdom, and of the fortresses of Goa and Cochin.
,, , Francisco de, Captain of a junk of Banda.
,, , Garcia de, Captain of the fortresses of Malacca and of Basseim, and Governor of India (*see* also Appendix B).
Saldanha, Antonio de, Captain in chief of various fleets, and Captain of the fortress of Cochin.
,, , Diogo de, nephew of Antonio de Saldanha, and Captain of a galleon.
Salvago, Anrique de Macedo, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Sampayo, Lopo Vaz de, ship's Captain of the kingdom, Captain in chief of a fleet of five sails, Captain of the fortress of Cochin, and Governor of India (*see* also Appendix B).
,, , Manoel de, Captain of the Pass of Naruha.
,, , Pero Lopes, ship's Captain of the kingdom, and of the fortress of Goa.
,, , Vasco Pires de, Captain of a galleon, and Captain in chief of the fleet of the Strait.
Sanches, Diogo, Captain of a ship.
,, , Lopo, Captain of a ship.
Sande, Antonio de, Captain of a vessel *redondo* (square sails).

Sardinha, Diogo, Captain in chief of the sea of the Moluccas.
Seixas, Ambrosio de, Almoxarife of the arsenal and food supplies of Malacca.
,, , Domingos de, Captain of a foist, and Secretary of the Governor Pero Mascarenhas.
,, , Lançarote de, Factor in Pegu, and Secretary of the same Governor.
Sepulveda, Diogo de, Captain of Sofala.
,, , Manuel de Sousa de, Captain of the fortress of Diu.
Sequeira, Diogo Lopes de, chief Clerk of the market, Captain in chief of the fleet, Governor of India (*see* also Appendix B).
,, , Francisco de, Captain of a brigantine.
,, , Francisco de, a brave Malabarese, Captain of a fleet of foists.
,, , Gonçalo de, Captain in chief of a fleet of the kingdom.
,, , Pero Vaz de, Captain of a vessel for the Strait of Mecca, and guardian of Meale.
Serrano, João, Captain of a ship in the expedition of Fernão de Magalhães.
Serrão, Diogo, Captain of a small ship of the kingdom.
,, , Fernão, Captain of a galley.
,, , Francisco, Captain of a caravel, and Factor in Banda.
,, , João, Captain of a caravel.
,, , João, Captain of a galley.
,, , João, Captain in chief of three vessels for the Strait of Mecca.
,, , Pero, servitor of the Governor Dom Duarte de Menezes.
Silva, Ayres da, Captain of a Latine caravel, of a fleet in Ormuz, and of the fortress of Cochin.
,, , Balthasar da, ship's Captain of the kingdom, and Judge in the contention between the Governors Pero Mascarenhas and Lopo Vaz de Sampayo.
,, , Diogo da, Captain of a galiot and of the fortress of Quilon.
,, , Duarte da, Captain of a large galley.
,, , Francisco da, Captain of a ship for the kingdom.
,, , Francisco da, Captain of the fortress of Cochin.
,, , Gomes da, Captain of a foist that was set fire to.
,, , Gaspar da, brother of Christovam de Sousa, and Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , João de Mello da, Captain of Quilon.
,, , Jorge da, Alcalde in chief of the fortress of Ormuz.
,, , Dom Manoel da, brother of Dom Diogo de Miranda, and ship's Captain.

Silva, Manuel da, brother of Bras da Silva, Captain of a fleet of caturs and foists.
,, , Martim Coelho da, Captain in chief of a fleet of the kingdom.
,, , Martim Correa da, Captain in the fleet of Martim Affonso de Sousa.
,, , Pero da, Captain and Factor of the merchandise and drugs for Ormuz.
,, , Tristão da, Captain of ships of the kingdom.
Silveira, Dom Alvaro da, Captain of a ship; assassinated.
,, , André da, Captain of a galley.
,, , Antonio da, brother-in-law of the Governor Nuno da Cunha, relative of the Governor Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, Captain of Ormuz, Chaul, Diu, &c.
,, , D. Antonio da, Captain in chief of a fleet in the Strait of Mecca.
,, , Bernaldim da, Captain of a ship that was lost in Sofala.
,, , Bernaldim da, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.
,, , Diogo da, brother-in-law of the Governor Nuno da Cunha, Captain in chief of various fleets and of the sea of India.
,, , Heytor da, Captain in chief of many fleets, and Captain of the fortress of Cannanore.
,, , João da, Master of the Household of the King, and Captain in chief of a fleet of the kingdom.
,, , João da, nephew of the Governor Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, and Captain of Ceylon and of Cannanore.
,, , Jorge da, Captain of a ship of the kingdom. Killed in the assault of Aden.
,, , D. Manuel da, Captain of Ormuz.
,, , Ruy Dias da, Captain of a ship *redondo* (square sails), and Captain of Musketeers.
,, , Simão da, Captain of Cannanore.
,, , Vasco da, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Simoes, Francisco, Notary of the Factory of Malacca.
,, , Gil, Notary of the Embassage of Fernão Gomes de Lemos to the Sheikh Ismael.
Soares, André, Captain of a foist.
,, , Fernão, Commander of the Order of Aviz, a ship's Captain, and of a fleet for the kingdom.
,, , Lopo, Captain in chief of a fleet of the kingdom, and Governor of India (*see* Appendix B).
,, , Ruy, Commander.

Sodré, Braz, brother of Vicente Sodré, and Captain of a small vessel.
,, , Manoel, Captain of a galley, and of the fortress of Cochin.
,, , Simão, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Vicente, a relative of D. Vasco da Gama, and Captain in chief of a fleet.
Soeiro, João, Captain of a foist.
Souro, or Soyro, Anrique de, Captain of a foist.
,, , João de, Auditor-General of India.
Sousa, Affonso de, Ambassador to Bintang.
,, , Aleixos de, ship's Captain of the kingdom, and of the fortress of Sofala, and Comptroller of the Exchequer.
,, , Alvaro de, Captain of a small ship.
,, , André de, Captain of a ship *redondo.*
,, , Anrique de, Captain in chief of the coastguard fleet of Malabar.
,, , Antonio de, Captain of a caravel, and of the fortress of Chaul.
,, , Bastião de, Captain of various ships.
,, , Belchior de, brother of Aleixo de Sousa, and Captain of the fortress of Ormuz.
,, , Bernaldim de, Captain of a galley, and of the fortress of the Moluccas.
,, , Christovam de, brother of Gaspar da Silva, Captain of a galley, and of the fortress of Chaul.
,, , Christovam de, a fidalgo killed in a sally of Diu.
,, , Cide de, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Diogo de, Ensign of Heytor da Silveira.
,, , Diogo Lopes de, a ship's Captain of the kingdom, and of the fortress of Diu.
,, , Fernão de, brother of Martim Affonso de Sousa, and Captain of the coast.
,, , Fernão Gomes de, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Francisco de, the *Wild*, Captain of a brigantine, and of a ship.
,, , Francisco Lopes de, Captain of a galley.
,, , Gaspar de, Captain of the bulwark of Garcia de Sá, in Diu.
,, , Gil Fernandes de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Gonçalo de, brother of Garcia de Sousa, and ship's Captain.
,, , Garcia de, brother of Gonçalo de Sousa and Jorge de Sousa, and Captain of a Taforea, of galleys, of fleets, and of Banestarim. Killed in the assault of Aden.
,, , Garcia de, ship's Captain of the Kingdom.
,, , Heytor de, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Jeronymo de, Captain of a galley, of a galleon, &c.

Sousa, João de, Ambassador of the King of Bisnagá, and Captain of caravels.
,, , Jordão de, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Jorge de, brother of Garcia de Sousa. Killed in Banestarim.
,, , Jorge de, Captain of a Latine caravel.
,, , Lopo de, patrol in Diu.
,, , Luiz de, Captain of the bulwark of S. Thomé, and patrol in Diu.
,, , Manoel de, Captain of a galley, of a fleet, and of the fortress of Diu.
,, , Manoel de, Captain in chief of the sea of Malacca. Killed in an action against Laquexemena.
,, , Manoel de, brother-in-law of Alvaro Fernandes, and Captain of a ship of the kingdom. Killed on the coast of Africa.
,, , Manoel de, Captain of the fortress of Diu. Killed at the same time as Badur.
,, , Martim Affonso de, brother of Fernão de Sousa, and Captain in chief of the sea of Malacca.
,, , Martim Affonso de, Captain in chief of a fleet of the kingdom, Captain in chief of the sea, and Governor of India (*vide* also Appendix B).
,, , Martim Coelho de, Captain of diverse kinds of ships.
,, , Payo de, Captain of a vessel of the kingdom.
,, , Payo Rodriques de, killed while fighting in the fleet of the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida.
,, , Payo Rodriques de, Captain of a galley.
,, , Pero Lopes de, brother of the Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa, Captain in chief of a fleet of the kingdom.
,, , Pero Lopes de, Captain of a light ship, and of the bulwark of S. Thomé, in Diu.
,, , Ruy de, Captain of a galley.
,, , Simão Guedes de, Captain of Chaul.
,, , Thomé de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.

Soutomayor, Antonio de, brother of Diogo de Reynoso, and Captain of a fleet of foists for the Strait of Mecca.
,, , Fernão Eannes de, Thanadar in chief of the lands adjacent to Goa, and Captain of the fortress of Cannanore.
,, , Gomes de, Captain of various ships.

Syntra, Antonio de, Secretary with the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida.

Tassalho, Duarte Fernandes, Almoxarife of the arsenal of Cochin.

Tavares, Francisco de Sousa, Captain of a galley, and of various fleets, and of the fortress of Cannanore.

Tavares, Gonçalo, Factor of Dom João de Lima.
,, , Manoel de Sousa, Captain of a ship of the kingdom, and Captain in chief of the sea.
Tavoado, Gabriel, Captain of yeomen of Goa.
Tavora, Christovam de, Captain of a small ship, and of the fortress of Sofala.
,, , Fernão de Sousa de, brother of Lourenço Pires de Tavora, Captain of a fleet against the Castilians of the Moluccas, and of the fortress of Sofala.
,, , Francisco de, Captain of a ship of the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque against Ormuz, and Captain of Sofala.
,, , Gonçalo Vaz de, Captain of a fleet of foists for the Strait of Mecca.
,, , Lourenço Pires de, Captain in chief of the ships of burthen.
,, , Ruy Lourenço de, Captain of a ship of the kingdom, and of the fortress of Bassein.
Teixeira, Antonio Lobo, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Braz, Captain of a ship.
,, , Duarte, Treasurer in Cochin, and Factor of Ceylon.
,, , Gomes, ship's Captain.
,, , Jeronymo, ship's Captain.
,, , João, Ambassador to the King of Bisnagá.
,, , Pero Gomes, Auditor-General of India.
Telles, Diegalvares, Captain of the fortress of Cannanore.
,, , Manoel, son of Alvaro Telles, and Captain of a ship in the fleet of Affonso de Albuquerque, in the conquest of Ormuz.
Tello, D. Jorge, Captain of a galleon, and of the fortress of Sofala.
,, , D. Roque, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Tenreiro, Antonio, Bearer of the news of Ormuz to Portugal overland.
Tinoco, Vasco Fernandes, a ship's Captain.
Tisnado, Diogo, Captain of a catur.
Toar, Sancho de, a Castilian Fidalgo, Captain of ships of the kingdom, and of the fortress of Sofala.
Toscano, Francisco, head Chancellor of India.
,, , Lopo, Comptroller of the Household of the Governor D. Henrique de Menezes.
,, , Simão, Factor of Pacem.
Touro, Anrique de, Captain of a foist.
Travassos, Pero Vaz, Captain of a foist, and Factor in Ceylon.
Tristão, Jacome, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
Unhos, Diogo de, Captain of a vessel of the kingdom.

Valente, Fernão, Factor of the fleet of the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida.
Valle, Miguel do, Notary of the Custom House of Ormuz.
Varella, Ruy, treasurer of the Custom House of Ormuz, and Thanadar in chief of the frontier lands of Goa.
Vascogoncellos, or Vasconcellos, Anrique Mendes de, Captain of a fleet of caturs for the Strait of Mecca.
,, , Antonio Mendes de, Factor of the fleet of Diogo da Silveira, and Captain of a fleet of foists.
,, , Antonio Mendes de, nephew of Gonçalo Vaz Pacheco; killed in Diu.
,, , Diogo Mendes de, Captain in chief of a fleet for the conquest of Malacca, and Captain of the fortress of Cochin.
,, , Duarte Mendes de, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Francisco de, Captain of a galiot.
,, , Francisco de, Captain of a caravel, and Ambasssador to Cambay.
,, , Francisco Mendes de, Captain of a foist.
,, , Lopo Mendes de, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Luiz Mendes de, Captain of a vessel to Mozambique.
,, , Manoel de, Captain of various fleets, patrol of Diu, and Captain of the fortress of Cannanore.
,, , Manoel Telles de, Captain in chief of the sea.
Vaz, Affonso, Superintendent of Goa.
,, , Antão, Captain of a caravel.
,, , Miguel, Captain of a catur.
,, , Pero, Magistrate of the Capital, Captain of a ship of the kingdom, Comptroller of the Exchequer of India, and Captain of the fortress of Cochin.
,, , Pero, the "Ruddy," Captain of a vessel of the kingdom.
Veiga, Antonio da, Factor and Alcalde in chief in Diu.
,, , Francisco da, Captain of a vessel of the kingdom.
,, , Simão da, ship's Captain of the kingdom.
,, , Tristão Vaz da, Factor of Kalhat.
Velho, Manuel, Judge of the Custom House of Ormuz.
,, , Pero, Captain of a caravel *redondo* (square sails).
Venezeano, João de, Notary of the Custom House of Diu.
Vera, Pero Vaz da, Pilot and Captain of a large caravel.
Vera, Simão Paes da, Alcalde in chief of the fortress of the Moluccas.
Viegas, Gallaz, Captain of Paleacate.

Viegas, Galvão, Alcalde in chief of Chaul, and Ambassador to the Adil Khan.
,, , João, messenger to Pacem, and Alcalde in chief of Goa.
Vieira, Fernão, sent to the King of Ugentana.
Vilhalobos, Pero de, Captain of a foist.
,, , Lopo de, Captain of a small vessel.
Vogado, Balthasar, Captain of a brigantine.
,, , Lopo Vaz, Captain of a ship of the kingdom.

APPENDIX D.

Names of places in Africa,—Arabia, and the East, mentioned by Portuguese authors, with their modern equivalents. Where no modern equivalents are given, the mention of the places and their localities are on the authority of Gaspar Correa.

Abexia, or Abexi (Abyssinia).

Achem (Achin), in Sumatra.

Adem (Aden), an Arab fort in Arabia.

Agacim (Agassaim), one of the passes between the Island of Goa and the Province of Salsette.

Agané (Agane), a range of mountains near Abyssinia.

Alcocer (Koseir), a city in the Red Sea.

Amadavá (Ahmadabad).

Amboyno (Amboyna).

Anceam (*see* Ciama).

Ancolá (Ankola), in North Kanara, Bombay.

Angedive, or Anchediva (Anjediva or Anjadeepa), an island two miles from the coast of North Kanara, and about fifty-one miles south-east from Goa.

Angeli (Hijili), sea-coast tract in Bengal.

Angoja, or Angoxa (Angoxa or Angosha Island), in the Mozambique Channel.

Angra (Angra), a port in the island of Terceira.

Antonia, or the island of Saragão.

Ara (Ras-Arar), a port near the entrance to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb.

Argão (Argaum), a place six miles from Chaul.

Armuza (Ormuz), an island in the Persian Gulf.

Arquico, a city in the Arabian Gulf.

Arracão (Arakan), in Lower Burma.

Arrifa (probably Afar), a country bordering on Abyssinia.

Arsinoe, at the head of the Gulf of Suez, formerly a port, but now in ruins.

Baçaim (Bassein), a city and fortress on the coast of Guzerat.

Bacanor, or Bracanor (Barkur), name of a river and place in the kingdom of Narsinga, on the coast of South Kanara.

Bachão (Batjan), one of the Moluccas Islands.

Baçora (Bassorah), at the head of the Persian Gulf.

Badalcuria (Abdul Kuri), a place on the coast of Arabia, near Ras Fartak.

Baharem (Bahrein), island in the Persian Gulf.

Balagate (Balaghat), in the Central Provinces, formerly an independent kingdom.

Bandel (Bandel), the name of an old Portuguese settlement in Bengal, about a mile above Hugli.

Bandel dos Malemos, a port at the mouth of the Red Sea.

Bandor, a river to the north of Bhatkal.

Barcelor (Basrúr), town in South Kanara, Madras.

Baroche (Broach), a town and district in the Bombay Presidency.

Bassadore (Bassadore), a town upon the Island of Kishm in the Persian Gulf.

Baticala, or Baticalaa (Bhatkal), a city and port of the kingdom of Narsinga, on the coast of Malabar.

Batochina (Halmahera or Gilolo), the principal island in the Moluccas group.

Beadalá (Vadaulay), a port of the ancient kingdom of Bisnagar, on the Ramnad coast, Madura district, formerly of some note for native craft.

Bengala, or Bangala (Bengal).

Berbelim (Berberyn, or Barberyn, otherwise called Beruwala), a small port in Ceylon, south of Colombo.

Bilgan (Belgaum), a town of the Bombay Presidency in the southern Mahratta country.

Bintão (Bintang), an island at the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula.

Bipur (Beypur or Veppur), a town of Madras, on the Malabar coast.

Bisnaga, Bisnega, or Bisnagar (Vijayanagar or Narsingha), capital of a kingdom of the same name in southern India.

Boca de Tigre (Bocca Tigris), the estuary of the Canton River.

Bombaça, or Mombaça (Mombassa), an island and city in the Indian Ocean off the coast of Zanguebar.

Bombaim (Bombay), the island of.

Bracanor (*vide* Bacanor).

Bracelor (*vide* Barcelor).

Brama (Burma).

Brava (Barawa), a seaport on the east coast of Africa.

Brinjão (Villenjum), a port of Travancore, a little south of Tivandrum.

Cação (Kesana), a river near Malacca.

Çacotora (Socotra), an island between Ras Fartak and Cape Guardafui

Çael, or Caell (Cael or Kayal), a port in the Gulf of Manaar, on the coast of Tinnevelli.

Cafate, or Gafate (Gafat), in Abyssinia.

Caixem (*see* Queixome).

Calayate (Kalhat), a city of Arabia equi-distant from Muscat and Ras-el-Had.

Calecare, a province on the coast of Bisnaga, near Cape Comorin.

Calle, or Caile (Calli-Quilon), a province in the kingdom of Quilon, on the coast of Malabar.

Camafo, a place in the kingdom of Tidore.

Camarão (Cameran or Kamaran), an island off the coast of Arabia in the Red Sea.

Çamãtra (Sumatra).

Cambayete (Cambay), a city and port of Guzerat at the head of the Gulf of Cambay.

Camboja, an ancient kingdom in the eastern part of Indo-China, supposed to have been about the locality of Chitral or Kafiristan.

Camello (Camello Islands), a group of islands in Howakel Bay, in the Red Sea, about thirty leagues from Messowah.

Camfar, or Campar, a maritime province, eight leagues from Socotra.

Camjeverão (Congeveram), a city forty miles south-west from Madras.

Canari (Kennery), the site of famous cave-temples in the island of Salsette.

Cancoalle River (Rio de Zuari), between Salsette and Goa.

Canhameira, or Canhuneyra (Kanyimedu), a place on the Coromandel coast between Pondicherry and Madras; formerly the site of European factories.

Caniquim, or Canacani, or Quanequim, islands thirty leagues from Aden.

Cantão (Canton).

Capocate (Capucat), a place and port of Calicut, now extinct.

Catifa (El Katiff), a fortress on the coast of Arabia, opposite to Ormuz.

Caxem (Kishm), a city seven leagues from Ras Fartak.

Ceibão (Sharbein), an island in the Red Sea.

Ceilão (Ceylon).

Chalé or Chalia (Chalyam), river and ancient fortress opposite to Beypur, and two leagues from Calicut.

Champa or Choampa, an ancient kingdom of Indo-China, occupying the extreme south-east of that region.

Champanel, a fortress in Cambay, a few miles south of Baroda; not now existing.

Chatigão (Chittagong), a port in Bengal to the eastward of the Ganges.
Chatuá, a river on the coast near Calicut.
Chaul (Chaul), a city and fortress on the Malabar coast, to the north of Dabhol.
Cheravaipim (*see* Vaipim).
Chiláo (Chilaw), on the west coast of Ceylon.
Chincheo (Chin-chew), a port of Fuhkien in China.
Chitor (Chittore), an ancient rock fortress in the Rajput State of Mewar.
Chugarihá, Chaquiria or Chacuria, on the coast of Bengal.
Ciama, Anseam, Syão (Siam).
Cindy, Cimde, Zindi (Sind).
Cincapura, Cingapura (Singapore).
Cinguiçar (*vide* Sanguiçer).
Cintacora, a river opposite to Anjediva.
Cochyn (Cochin), on the Malabar coast.
Çoco (Soco), a port in the island of Socotra.
Çofala (Sofala), a town in the Mozambique Channel
Coloran (Coleroon), the chief mouth of the Kaveri River.
Comorão (Gombroon, or Bandar Abbas), on the mainland of Persia opposite to Ormuz.
Combalão (Kumbullum), a pass near Cochin, which was defended by Duarte Pacheco.
Comori (Cape Comorin), the extreme southern point of the peninsula of India.
Comoro (Comoro), an island in the Mozambique Channel.
Concamchina, Straits of (Cochin China), in the Gulf of Siam.
Cosnin, Cosmi, a port not now existing, but which probably occupied the site of Bassein, in Pegu.
Cota (Cotta), in Ceylon.
Coulão (Quilon), a kingdom and city south of Cochin.
Coulete (Kolattur), a town of Calicut, Walluvanad Taluk.
Cranganor, Cranguanor, Crancanor, Quorongoliz (Kranganor or Kudan-galur), on the Malabar coast to the north of Cochin.
Çuaquem (Suakin), a city on the western coast of the Red Sea.
Çuez (Suez).
Çugala, a place in Ternate.
Çunda (Sunda), an island between Java and Sumatra.
Curia Muria (Kuria Muria), islands off the coast of Arabia.
Curiate (Kuriyat), on the coast of Arabia, eight leagues from Kalhat.
Çurrate (Surat), a town in the Gulf of Cambay.

Çyfardão (probably Sinquerim), a river to the north of Goa.

Dabul (Dabhol), a town on the coast of Malabar.

Dalaca (Dhalac el Kebeer), an island in the Red Sea off the coast of Abyssinia.

Damão (Daman), a port in the Gulf of Cambay.

Danda, a town in Cambay.

Daquem (*vide* Decan).

Darú, a kingdom near to Aden.

Daugim (Daugim), a pass between Goa and the mainland.

Decan, or Daquem (The Deccan).

Decanim, the country between Bala Ghat and Cambay.

Dely, Monte (Mount Delly), on the Malabar coast.

Diamper (Utayamper), territory near Cochin.

Dio (Diu), an island and city to the south of the peninsula of Guzerat.

Divar (Divar), an island to the north of Goa.

Dofar (Dofar), a city of Arabia on the Indian Ocean.

Fartaque (Ras Fartak), on the coast of Arabia.

Fermoso, Monte (Mt. Fermoso), to the east of Malacca.

Geilolo (Gilolo), one of the Moluccas Islands.

Gidi, a place fourteen leagues from Ormuz.

Gogá (Gogo), a maritime city of Cambay.

Gogala (Goghla), a village on the mainland opposite to Diu.

Gojame (Godjam), a district in Abyssinia.

Gondolim (Gomdaulim), a pass between Goa and the mainland.

Gouro (Gour), an ancient city of Bengal.

Guardafuy, Guoardaffuy, or Guardafun (Cape Guardafui), a cape at the entrance of the Straits of Mecca.

Honor, see Onor.

Jaquete (Jakad), this name formerly attached to a place situated where the temple of Dwarka now stands, at the extreme west horn of the Kathiawar Peninsula. It was also applied by the Portuguese to the Gulf of Cutch.

Jafanapatão (Jafanapatam, or Jaffna), in Ceylon.

Jaoa (Java).

Jartafa (probably Aftar, in Annesley Bay), a place in Abyssinia.

Juda, Giuddah, Gedda, or Djedda (Jidda), a city in the Red Sea.

Julfar (Julfar), on the coast of Arabia, nearly opposite to Ormuz.

Lara, Lareca, Lareke, or Luredesh (Larack), an island in the Persian Gulf, one league from Ormuz.

Lequeos (Loo-Choo Islands), islands to the south of Japan.

Lequia, territory to the south-east of Canton.

Liampo (Ning-po), a port in China.
Lotir, principal city of the Banda Islands.
Macaçar (Macassar), an island in the Eastern Archipelago.
Maçãodão, Cabo de (Ras Mussendom), in Arabia, opposite to Ormuz.
Maceira, Ilhas de (Masirah Island), near Cape Ras-el-Had.
Maçuhá (Massowah), an island in the Red Sea.
Madava, Madaba, or Amadabá (Ahmedabad), a city in the kingdom of Cambay.
Madrefabá, or Madrefavá (probably Madala), a city on the coast of Diu.
Mafacalou (probably Malosmadu), one of the Maldive Islands.
Magadoxo (Magadoxo), a city on the east coast of Africa.
Malaqua (Malacca).
Maldiva, Maldivas Ilhas (The Maldives), islands in the Indian Ocean.
Malemos, Porto do, entrance to the Straits of Mecca.
Maluco (The Moluccas Islands), in the Eastern Archipelago.
Manancabo, or Menancabo (Menang Kabau), in Sumatra.
Manapá, or Manapar (Munapad), in Bisnagá.
Mandovim, a port in Goa.
Maquiem (Magiauw), one of the Moluccas Islands.
Marabia (Ettikkulam Bay), a bay off Cannanore.
Martabão (Martaban), a city and river of Pegu.
Mascate (Muscat), a maritime city of Arabia.
Mazagão (Mazagon), suburb of Bombay city.
Meca (Mecca), a city in Arabia, not far from Jidda.
Melequa (Malacca).
Mergeu (Mirjan), a maritime town of North Kanara, a few miles above Honawar.
Meté (Meti), a maritime province to the west of Cape Guardafui.
Mindanão (Mindanao), one of the Philippine Islands.
Misey (Cairo), in Egypt.
Moca (Mocha), a city of Arabia, on the Red Sea coast.
Moçambique (Mozambique), on the eastern coast of Africa.
Mogostão (Moghistan), a district of Persia, opposite to Ormuz.
Morro, Ilha de (Moro, or Morty Mortai Island), one of the Moluccas Islands.
Moçandan, or Moçandão (Cape Mussendum), the extreme eastern point of Arabia.
Mortos, Ilha dos, or Ilda de Bete (Forte do Mor), eight leagues to the east of Diu
Muar (Muar), a river near Malacca.

Nabonde (Naband), a port three leagues from Ormuz, not now existing, near Cape Naband.

Narsinga (*see* Bisnaga).

Naruha (Naroa), tower and a pass between Goa and the mainland.

Negapatão (Negapatam), a port of the ancient kingdom of Bisnagá.

Negotana (probably Narbada), a river in Cambay.

Negumbo (Negombo), in the island of Ceylon.

Nicobar, Ilhas de, or Nicouvar (the Nicobar Islands), in the Bay of Bengal.

Ogane (Pulo Gane), an island near Gilolo Island.

Onor (Honawar), in North Kanara, Bombay.

Orfação (Khor Fakán), on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf.

Orixa (Orissa), in the Bay of Bengal.

Ormuz (Ormuz), island in the Persian Gulf.

Pacem (Pasummah), a kingdom in Sumatra.

Pago (Pago), a fortress belonging to the King of Bintang, one league from the mouth of the Muar River.

Paleacate (Pulicat), a city of Bisnagá, on the coast of Coromandel.

Palimhão (Pallipuram), an island near Cochin.

Paliporto (Palliport), at the mouth of the Cranganor River.

Palurte (Palur), in the Ponnani Taluk of Malabar.

Panane (Ponani), a city of Calicut on the Malabar coast.

Pandarane (Pantalayini Kollam), in Malabar.

Pangim (Panjim, or Nova Goa), in the vicinity of Goa.

Panoel (Panwell), a town on the mainland, opposite to Bombay.

Páo (Paos), a port on the Malabar coast, south of Ratnaghiri.

Parangale (probably Putiyangadi), a port near Calicut.

Patane (Patana), a kingdom near Bengal (*see* Map of India, Vol. I., page 572).

Patane, or Paté (Patani, Somnath), a city of Cambay, near Diu.

Patane (Patani), a city and kingdom in the Malay Peninsula.

Pate (*see* Patani).

Pedir (Pedir), a principal city in Sumatra.

Pemba (Pemba), an island off the African coast, to the north of Zanzibar.

Pequij, Pequin (Pegu).

Pico d'Adão (Adam's Peak), a mountain in Ceylon.

Pimenta, a kingdom to the east of Calicut (*see* Map of India, Vol. I., page 572).

Ponda (Ponda), a district on the mainland, to the east of Goa.

Porqua (Porakad), a city and kingdom on the Malabar coast, between Cochin and Quilon.

Queda (Quedda), a port on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula.

Queimados Ilheus, islands to the north of Goa.

Queixome, or Caixem, Ilha de (Kishm), three leagues from Ormuz.

Quelecy, or Calaci (Kelsi), a port and creek in the Rutnagheri district of Bombay.

Queryma (Querimba), islands off the coast of Zanguebar.

Quiloa, Quyluee (Quiloa), an island, city, and kingdom of Africa, off the coast of Zanguebar.

Rabandar (Ra-bunder), near Panjim, one league from Goa.

Rachol (Rachol), in Salsette, six leagues from Goa.

Rama, Cabo de (Cabo de Rama), two leagues to the south of Goa.

Raxel, a city on the coast of the Persian Gulf, tributary to Ormuz. Probably this name is equivalent to Ras-el, and the termination of the name is omitted.

Reinel (probably Rander), a town in the Gulf of Cambay.

Repelim (Eddapalli), an island, city, and kingdom between Calicut and Cochin.

Robães, islands at the entrance to the Red Sea.

Roçalgate, or Rasalgate (Ras-el-Had), a cape at the extreme east of Arabia.

Rueutelo, a port in Amboyna.

Ryfa, a city four days' journey from Suez.

Sal (Rio de Sal), a river in Salsette.

Salsete (Salsette), a territory on the mainland opposite to Goa.

Sangá, or Chitor, shown in the old map as Chitor, south-east of Jaisalmer.

Sanguicer, Sangueça, Zinguizar, or Cinguiçar (Sangameshvar), formerly a port of Canara, on the Shastri River.

Satigão (Satigam), a port of Bengal, on the Hugli river, thirty miles above Calcutta, now disused.

Sedoa (Sandoway), a town of Arakan.

Soar (Sohar), a maritime port belonging to the kingdom of Ormuz, between Capes Ras-el-Had and Ras Mussendom.

Soleymão, Agua de, a port in the Red Sea.

Syão (*see* Ciama).

Surrate (Surat).

Tabanga, a port of the island of Ternate.

Tabona, a place in Ternate.

Talangane, a port in Ternate.

Teleigão, a place near Goa.

Taná (Thana), a town of Salsette, twenty miles north east of Bombay.

Tanaçarim (Tenasserim), in the Bay of Bengal.

Tanor (Tanur), a city on the Malabar coast, twenty-two miles south of Calicut.

Tavay (Tavoy), a town and district of Tenasserim, in Burma.

Tenaçar (Tenasserim), a district of Burma.

Tiracole (Tirakhol), a maritime port north of Goa.

Tiruxerapali (Trichinopoly), a district of S. India.

Toloco, a place in Ternate.

Toro, or Thor (Tor), a city and port on the Gulf of Suez.

Totucury (Tuticorin), a port of Tinnivelly.

Tramapatão, a port in Cannanore.

Trinquinamale (Trincomali), a harbour on the north-east coast of Ceylon.

Turoto, one league from Ternate

Turumbaque (Turum Bagh), an old fort on the island of Ormuz.

Ufrates (the River Euphrates).

Ugentana, Ojantana, or Hugentana (Ujungtana), a city in the kingdom of Bintang, the extreme end of the Malay Peninsula.

Vaccas, or Vaquas, Ilhas de, opposite to Bassein.

Vaccas, or Vaquas, Ilhas de, near Cape Comorin.

Vage or Vague (Waag), in Abyssinia.

Vaipim (Vypeen), an island off Cochin.

Veniaga, or Beniaga, Ilha da (island of Shang-ch'wan), off the coast of China, eighteen leagues from Canton.

Verruna, a port on the coast of Arabia.

Visapor (Visapur), a hill fort in Poona District.

Xael, or Xaer (possibly Sihut), a port in Arabia, between Aden and Ras Fartak.

Xiraz (Shiraz), a city of Persia.

Xoa, or Shoa (Shoa), a kingdom in Abyssinia.

Zanghibar, Zanguebar (Zanzibar), the mainland, as distinguished from Zanzibar the island.

Zeila (Zeila), a city and port of Eastern Africa, opposite the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb.

Zindi (*vide* Cindy).

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